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A TYPICAL PARISH CHURCH IN SWEDEN: GLANSHAMMAR CHURCH IN NÄRKE

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The Religious Aspects of Swedish Immigration

A STUDY OF IMMIGRANT CHURCHES

By
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PREFACE

The church — in the broad sense of the term — may easily be placed first among the agencies that have contributed to give the Swedish people in the United States some measure of unity. In this fact lies the justification, in the view of the author, for a separate study of the several churches established by the Swedish immigrants. It is perhaps superfluous to add that the subject cannot be adequately presented without some interpretation of other aspects of the immigration movement, inextricably bound up as they are with the religious. Some of these secondary topics might well furnish the text for far more extended treatment.

As the reader will find, the fight to preserve a distinctive Swedish culture in this country was, in spite of the influence of the church, a losing one. Transplanted to American soil, the Swede was placed in an inexorable environment. He found himself in a society that mocked him and the institutions, customs, and language he had brought with him, a society so strong, moreover, that it must inevitably dominate him.

The writer has been an eyewitness of many of the occurrences herein described. His boyhood was spent in a Swedish settlement. In his home and in parsonages he has listened to the conversations of leaders about church problems. He was a student in a Swedish-American educational institution, and he counts it a privilege to call himself a friend of a number of the men and women whose names appear in these pages. He, like all historians, has been affected by these subconscious but formative memories.

Nevertheless, the writer has clung as best he could to the historian's standards of dispassionate exposition. He could not avoid judgments, and these, too, about men some of whom were but recently active in the direction of the Swedish church in America. He has been conscious that the men who strove to build up the kingdom of God in Swedish-America were as human as their brethren in other denominations. The documents have never let him forget it. Indeed, the bitterness of extreme controversy saturates much of the source material with which the writer has had to deal. Anyone familiar with theological controversies and particularly with those among warring synods will, he trusts, grant him a claim to restraint in his presentation of these matters.

It has been a difficult and perplexing task, but one not without its own appeal and satisfactions for an historical student. If we grant that similar matters were of interest in Puritan England and New England, why deny it in the case of the much more numerous Swedish immigrants who have made and will continue to make their contribution to the history of the great Northwest and of the nation? Swedish-American religious history, if less significant than that of the earlier English-speaking immigrants, is yet a history worth recording.

It would be a pleasure to record the names of the persons who have been of assistance in the preparation of this book, but such a list would be too long. Most of those whom the author has interviewed have been unaware of his purpose, though some have been consulted about specific details of the account. His friends in Sweden have called attention to material that might otherwise have escaped his attention, and several pastors have generously permitted examination of parish records. Mr. E. H. Thörnberg of Stockholm has generously shared his fund of information about the Swedes on both sides of the Atlantic. Demands made upon officials and assistants in the Augustana College Library, the Augustana Book Concern, the Minnesota Historical Society, *Kungliga Biblioteket, Riksdags Biblioteket, Riksarkivet, Göteborgs Stadsbibliotek, Riksföreningen för Svenskhetens Bevarande i Utlandet, Landsarkivet* in Uppsala, and Bethel Seminary in Stockholm have been met with unfailing courtesy. The Reverend C. A. Wendell of Minneapolis has kindly read the manuscript of the first eight chapters and has suggested slight revisions. Finally, grateful acknowledgment should be made to the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, without whose aid in the form of a stipend this study could not have been undertaken.

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University of Minnesota
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THE RELIGIOUS ASPECTS OF SWEDISH IMMIGRATION

CHAPTER I

THE CHURCH OF SWEDEN

SWEDEN is one of the most intensely Protestant countries in the world, and her sons in the American republic are just as zealous defenders of the principles of the Protestant Reformation as the descendants of the Pilgrim Fathers, who sought a refuge from the laws and traditions of an established church that harbored remnants of Romanism. The Church of Sweden, although not officially designated "Lutheran," professes the faith of the Augsburg Confession, which is distinctively Lutheran. Not only has the church been an institution of the state, but church and state have been identified. It has been Erastian to the core. The pastor's office has combined the duties of an ecclesiastical person and a servant of the state, the latter in some respects overshadowing the former.

The Reformation in Sweden marked a radical doctrinal departure from Roman Catholicism, but the organization of the church was only slightly affected. Although the authority of the pope was rejected, the office of bishop was retained, because all the bishops, with one exception, went over to Lutheranism. The episcopate, however, was regarded as a merely local arrangement. There was no formal adoption of the doctrine of the apostolic succession as in the Anglican church, but rather a leaning toward Presbyterianism, the bishops officiating as superintendents as in the Lutheran church in Germany, where the term "bishop" was abolished. In spite of the wide departure from medievalism a trace of the leaven of Romanism remained. The pastor was called *präst* (priest), and the New Testament term "presbyter" was translated *präst.* Although the service was rendered in the vernacular, certain parts of the liturgy were chanted, and the pastors retained the ornamental gowns that were such an abomination to the puritans in every country. Moreover, the church and its bishops and pastors retained most of the privileges that were theirs under the medieval system.

The country was divided geographically into dioceses (*stift*) and parishes (*socken*), and all the people living within the boundaries of the parish were members of the congregation (*församling*). Until well along into the nineteenth century every child had to be baptized within eight days of its birth, and if parents refused to allow this sacramental rite, an action might be raised against them in the civil courts. At fourteen or fifteen years of age the youth was sent to the pastor for catechetical instruction in the fundamentals of the Christian faith. After several months of study, which consisted mainly of learning the catechism by heart and committing to memory a number of hymns in the *Psalmbok,* he was confirmed and partook of the Lord's Supper. As late as the middle of the last century every confirmed person was required by law to partake of the Lord's Supper at least once a year in order to enjoy the rights of citizenship, to serve as witness in the courts of justice, to enter the marriage relation, or to take up any secular employment.

Whatever may be said against these ecclesiastical regulations, some of which were purely formal, some very desirable traits were implanted in the people. Above all else the catechism stressed respect for God, church, government, and superiors, and posited as one of the highest obligations obedience to law and order, a principle of conduct the emigrant carried with him to America — to his everlasting advantage and to the immense profit of his adopted country.

The parish pastor was a very influential man in the community, and his position still commands great respect, even from men and women whose attitude toward religion assumes the color of indifference or hostility. This is due in part to the pastor's position as a servant of the state, which some time or other brings him into personal contact with every inhabitant of the parish. In the past he was the cultivated person in his community, and religion was generally looked upon as a cultural as well as a spiritual interest, entitled as a matter of course to support from the state. He educated the children, officiated at baptisms, weddings, and funerals, kept records and statistics, made reports to the government, and read official decrees from the pulpit. Down to 1866 the clergy as an estate were represented in a separate chamber in the parliament. So far as the average citizen was concerned, in nineteenth-century Sweden his refusal to pay taxes to support the church because he did not attend services would be equivalent to the refusal of an American citizen to pay the school tax on the ground that he sends his children to a private or parochial school.

In spite of the hierarchal character of the church it embodied certain very democratic elements. The pastors were not, as a rule, arbitrarily assigned to congregations by the bishop but were elected by the qualified voters in the parish, sometimes after a battle royal between the aristocratic element and the *bönder* — the landowning farmers. Other matters pertaining to the parish were submitted to the electors or to their representatives in the select vestry, a practice that made it easy for the immigrant to accommodate himself to the democratic institutions of his adopted country. In spite of his election by popular vote the pastor, once inducted into office, was independent, and in some cases he abused his authority, even to the extent of using violence.[1] He was a rash man, indeed, who would refuse to remove his hat upon meeting a pastor — this was a luxury in which only a reckless returned emigrant would indulge in order to advertise the emancipation that citizenship in the American republic had conferred upon him. Many prospective emigrants could testify to the fear and trembling that assailed them as they approached the parsonage to apply for a permit to leave the fatherland. Many remembered to their dying day the lecture that was read to them about the iniquity of deserting a land of law and order and Christian morals in favor of a country where neither God nor man was respected and where the church was divided into mutually hostile sects, some of which had sent missionaries to Sweden to sow discord and create a spirit of hostility to the church of their fathers.

The church was the community center, the meeting place for all. Except in the large and sparsely populated parishes, such as those in Norrland, the peasant was a regular attendant at the Sunday service, even though the church was located at a considerable distance from his home. Here he would meet friends and acquaintances, learn the gossip of the parish, and hear read from the pulpit marriage banns, deaths, official documents, such as laws and decrees, announcements of auctions, notices of intentions to emigrate to America, reports of escaped convicts, and other items of general interest. Some of the pietistic members of the congregation objected to having these secular affairs mixed with the spiritual, but the pastor usually read them so rapidly that the expression " as fast as the reading of an official document in church " was in current use.[2] The services were usually long, sometimes lasting three hours, and the churches were not heated; one cannot help wondering at the hardihood of the men, women, and children who braved the experience. On Sundays the plot of ground belonging to the parish (*kyrkbacken*) became a market place, where herring, fruits, wheat bread, *brännvin,* and many other commodities were sold after services.[3]

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[1] Pehr Johnsson, *Allmogeliv i Göinge. Kulturbilder från början och mitten av 1800-talet. Med förord av Professor Oscar Montelius,* Trelleborg, 1920, pp. 170–174.

The church usually stood on a height in the midst of the churchyard, and not far from it stood the parsonage (*prästgården*), a little farm in itself. This arrangement was reproduced in scores of Swedish settlements in the Mississippi Valley. Near by was the schoolhouse and the home of the school teacher and the organist, who were sometimes the same man. In the old days the pastor or the sacristan (*klockare*) often vaccinated the people, a precaution that has been compulsory since the early part of the nineteenth century. In the parish records the date of vaccination was recorded just as carefully as were births, deaths, marriages, and movements from and into the parish. Thanks to the meticulous care of the pastor, the grandchildren of Swedish immigrants can consult the old church books to learn the date of birth, baptism, marriage, and emigration of their ancestors, the number of times they communed at the Lord's table, and the rating the pastor gave them for their responses at catechetical meetings (*husförhör*). The catechetical meetings held in homes in different parts of the parish, where the pastor questioned young and old on their knowledge of the Bible and the catechism, were continued in

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[2] Communication to *Jönköpings-Bladet,* September 30, 1845.

[3] Sam. A. Johansson, *Ur minnet. Skildringar och erfarenheter från den andliga brytningstiden i vårt land under midten och senare hälften af förra århundradet. Med förord af Pastor Karl Palmberg,* Eksjö, 1911, p. 13.

Swedish-American settlements in the earlier years, but this interesting and useful custom soon fell victim to the process of Americanization.

The fact that the pastoral office combined the duties of a clergyman and civil officer explains to some extent the characteristics of the incumbent that were criticized by the leaders in the pietistic and dissenting movements, but it would be a mistake to accept at face value all their harsh judgments. It is deplorable that the pastors showed little interest in the religious awakening that was manifesting itself all over the country in the two decades prior to 1860. This was due in part to the lack of religious experience and in part to the training they had received in the universities. Young men studied for the ministry without the solemn conviction which the theologian terms the "inner call," and their education was more classical than theological.[4] They knew far more about liturgics, symbolics, and dogmatics than about pastoral theology. The church became a body of frigid mechanical forms and ceremonies, which quenched the spirit and gave to the people only the dry husks of formalism. Persons with scarcely a spark of spirituality regarded with horror the omission of any part of the liturgy.

In the first half of the nineteenth century neology had so permeated the church that it was said to have become a "magnificent ice palace." [5] This type of rationalism had crept into the liturgy, hymns, catechism, and sermons. The sermons were often masterly and faithful to the text, and their rounded periods and rhetorical figures satisfied the aesthetic sense, but they left the heart untouched. Free prayers were rarely offered; instead the prayers were read in the form of a hymn from the *Psalmbok,* which had come to be regarded as almost perfect and was used by some pastors to an even greater extent than the Bible. Formalism was so ingrained that most of the pastors looked with hostility upon informal gatherings where people met to read the Bible and to unite in prayer without the leadership of the pastor. Notwithstanding its record of popular education, by the last quarter of the nineteenth century the church was hardly less unpopular than the Anglican church in England and the Roman Catholic church in southern Europe.

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[4] N. J. Nordström, *De frikyrkliga och statskyrkoproblemet,* Stockholm, 1922, pp. 67 ff.

[5] B. Wadström, *Ur minnet och dagboken. Anteckningar från åren 1848–1897,* Vol. I, Stockholm, 1897, p. 364; James Lumsden, *Sweden: Its Religious State and Prospects: With Some Notices of the Revivals and Persecutions Which Are at Present Taking Place in That Country,* London, 1855, pp. 19–20.

In general the pastors held aloof from political and social reform movements, because they were convinced that legislative reform did not go to the bottom of things and could not recreate individuals. They did not share the view of the free-church people that reforms in the body politic were a necessary preparation for more fundamental reforms in the hearts of individuals and that material prosperity made the individual more receptive to the message of the gospel. Moreover, the pastors felt the lash of liberalism in the political system when it found expression in a democracy that curtailed the privileges of the official and upper classes. If the people were to be given more power in government, would not the next step be to set up independent churches controlled by the laity? The failure of the church to interpret the spirit of the age in the long run alienated the working men and women and reduced it to its present position of impotency.

Although there were notable exceptions, the lives of the clergymen were not exemplary. Profanity and intemperance were by no means unusual.[6] A reliable witness has testified that on one occasion the pastor in his parish was so intoxicated that he laughed aloud before the altar and preached nonsense in the pulpit.[7] In a letter to a religious journal in 1868 a pastor in the diocese of Växjö quoted a *bonde* as saying, " In our parish there are three pastors: one is a drunkard who often has to be carried into the pulpit in a state of intoxication; the second is avaricious and for the most part busy with his own affairs; the third is a wag and in his own way is a well-behaved person." [8] The same year the archbishop, in his address to the convocation at Uppsala, presented a harsh picture of the clergy.

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[6] G. Westling, " Den religiösa ställningen inom Linköpings stift under 1800-talet," *Kyrkohistorisk årsskrift,* Uppsala, 1913, pp. 45–46.

[7] David Nyvall, *Min faders testamente. En levnadsteckning av predikanten och frikyrkomannen Karl Johan Nyvall från hans " minnen " och dagböcker, skriven och utgiven, på faderns uppdrag,* Chicago, 1924, p. 177.

[8] *Wäktaren,* Stockholm, October 1, 1868.

In the catalogue of their sins were listed heresy, profanity, blasphemy, dishonesty, lewdness, and sacrilege.[9] At weddings, funerals, and social gatherings the pastor conformed to the customs of the community and indulged in pleasures that were taboo among the pietists. After the wedding dinner the bride danced first with the pastor, and the groom first with the parson's wife.

All too frequently the pastors were negligent in performing the duties of their office. This was due in part to the size of certain parishes but more often to incompetency or indifference to the spiritual welfare of their flocks. The rules governing promotion made it necessary for a man to qualify for a rectorship either by officiating as a teacher in a more advanced institution of learning or by serving in some subordinate capacity in the church for a long term of years. In each case length of service was the determining element in the claim to advancement, so that the most vigorous period of life had passed before the coveted position was attained. It is evident that moral qualifications were not taken into account to the degree that the importance and responsibility of the office demanded.[10]

In the two following chapters the reader will find a brief sketch — unfortunately inadequate — of what might be called the religious background of Swedish immigration to the United States. In the absence of an intensive study of the religious history of Sweden in the first half of the nineteenth century, a study that presents the whole story in true proportions, the student of immigration, in attempting to correlate the trend of events in the old country with that in the new, must rely upon the special studies of limited fields.[11]

It is not a mere coincidence that Swedish immigration to the United States began at a time when a new day in the religious history of Sweden was dawning. The Church of Sweden was assailed by the exponents of new political ideas and of divergent religious faiths, who tried to batter down the walls of confessional and political orthodoxy and complacency. The student of immigration must look at the Church of Sweden through the eyes of the pietists or *läsare,* as they were usually called, for the foundations of the Swedish churches in the United States were laid by men who read the Bible with child-like faith and somewhat naïvely applied its teachings to practical life. Layman and *läsare* pastors denied that "official" religion should be the monopoly of men who had been through the theological mill devised by the state and had been regularly ordained and installed in office. They believed that in order to be admitted into fellowship with the "true believers," the parish pastor must radiate a living faith by renouncing worldly things.

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[9] *Wäktaren,* September 3, 1868.

[10] Lumsden, *Sweden: Its Religious State and Prospects,* 16–19.

[11] For a stimulating essay on religious conditions during the first third of the nineteenth century see Gunnar Westin, *George Scott och hans verksamhet i Sverige,* Stockholm, 1929, pp. 1–49.

Although the religious movements were of various shades and aims, they were one in protesting against the worldliness of the clergy, and their leaders were pietistic and devout. Some, like the Methodists, Baptists, Eric-Jansonists, and Mormons were separatists; but most of them were *läsare* who had been influenced, directly or indirectly, by Scott and Rosenius. On the eve of the great emigration from Sweden the *läsare* or pietistic movements were sporadic and unorganized. It remained for great leaders like Scott, Rosenius, and Fjellstedt to knit them together.

George Scott, the Wesleyan missionary who may be regarded as the progenitor of the free-church movement in Sweden, after only a few weeks' sojourn in Stockholm, painted a dark picture of the state of religion in Sweden in 1830.

> Christian experience seems utterly disregarded in this country; an empty uninfluential form is the highest object at which they aim.
>
> The Lutheran Church, by all the accounts I can get, is fast asleep if not dead; the Priesthood has become worldly, sensual and mercenary, the ordinances are neglected and experimental Religion is unknown.
>
> I had such a view of the awful dead formality into which the whole of Stockholm Priests and people is sunk, that I was constrained to groan deeply on their account.
>
> There is such an utter want of spirituality — such a miserable ignorance of experimental religion — such a disposition to worldly-mindedness and the pursuit of several pleasures — such an evident dread lest the subjects of the Gospel should be hinted at out of the place of worship.[12]

[12] Westin, *Scott,* 200–201.

Scott's biographer points out that these categorical statements were not based on his own observations and judgment, since he was acquainted with neither the language nor the history of the country; but they must be taken as the reflection of the sentiments expressed by the pietists who were attracted to the Methodist chapel where Scott and his predecessor, Joseph Rayner Stephens, preached the gospel. The besetting sins of the people of Sweden, in Scott's judgment, were the desecration of the Sabbath, intemperance, and profanity, and he lamented their love for the theater and the dance and their immorality. "I truly dwell where Satan's seat is, every person is a religious person, but a pious person is a living wonder," he wrote. But worst of all, in the missionary's judgment, was the failure of the clergy to do their duty in the midst of all this sinfulness. They preached as though all sinners were believers and were not above officiating at the Sunday forenoon services and attending the theater or the ball on the very same holy day. Even bishops gave balls, often on Sunday, for youths who had taken their first communion.[13] Scott's disciple and successor, Carl Olof Rosenius, was equally unsparing in censuring the clergy and asserted that out of Stockholm's one hundred and twenty ministers only two were true shepherds of the flock.

This brief and possibly somewhat one-sided sketch of conditions in the established church about the middle of the nineteenth century has been presented as a setting for the chapters outlining the rise and spread of the movements that revolutionized the religious situation in Sweden. In a very real sense the Swedish immigrant who faced life's problems in a country with a widely different religious system and spirit was a product of the Church of Sweden. Lutheranism had placed a distinct stamp upon him, whether he was religiously indifferent or not; and religion as a cause of emigration from Sweden is a factor historians cannot ignore, however much they may differ as to its relative importance. Moreover, a study of new religious tendencies not only sheds light on the causes of emigration but explains in part the present religious status of Swedish-Americans.

The Swedish emigrants left their native land with a rich religious heritage, and of those who retained membership in religious organizations the great majority were direct heirs of the Lutheran Reformation. But not a few had already imbibed freely of faiths that departed more or less widely from the Augsburg Confession before they had cast their lot in the land where all sects were privileged to contend for adherents to their creeds.

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[13] Westin, *Scott,* 200–203.

The Swedish Lutheran church in America had its beginnings in the Mississippi Valley. Its founders were strait-laced puritans in morals and doctrine, whose abhorrence of a state church was so profound that almost everything that suggested it was excluded from the new organization. It is ironical that the "official" relations between the so-called reformed churches — those outside the Augustana Synod — and their brethren in the faith across the water have been far more cordial than have the relations between the established church and its "daughter" in the United States.

CHAPTER II

THE DAWN OF A NEW DAY

BEFORE 1840 sectarianism — in the sense that any considerable number of the population embraced faiths other than the Lutheran or belonged to free congregations — was almost unknown in Sweden. It is true that Sweden, like most countries, had always numbered among her citizens men and women of pietistic tendencies, who deplored the worldliness of the church and who perhaps met with kindred spirits to worship the Lord in their own way. There were pastors who encouraged them and even took part in their meetings, but as a rule these irregularities of worship were frowned upon by the ecclesiastics, and after 1726 the *konventikelplakat* could be invoked against frequenters of conventicles. The state church regarded pietistic movements in much the same way as did the Roman Catholic church in the Middle Ages — as a danger to pure doctrine and uniformity — even though the pietists themselves were warmly attached to the church.

In modern times Sweden's soil has never been stained by the blood of religious martyrs, although the church saw fit on several occasions to employ her two weapons against the activity of laymen — the fourteenth article of the Augsburg Confession and the *konventikelplakat.* The former document taught that no one should teach publicly in the church or administer the sacraments unless he was regularly called. The *konventikelplakat* exhorted parents and guardians to instruct their children and servants in the fundamentals of the Christian religion, to read the Bible to them, and to pray with them, but they were admonished not to enter into discussions with reference to points of doctrine too abstruse for the unlearned to comprehend. Conventicles, whether large or small, were stigmatized as a dangerous innovation that would lead to independence, nonconformity, and heresy. Persons who led conventicles were liable to fines and imprisonment for the first two offenses and banishment from the kingdom for two years for the third transgression. Fines increasing with each offense were assessed upon frequenters of conventicles. In spite of a provision in the Constitution of 1809 granting religious liberty, the old regulation remained in force until 1858, and banishment was not abolished until 1860. Even then the reforms were not adopted without public discussions, acrimonious debates in the *Riksdag,* and agitation in the press.[1]

The state church interpreted the provision of 1809 as narrowly as it could, but it was brought to good use when the fight for religious freedom began in earnest. For years the state church yielded no more than sheer necessity demanded, but it was unable finally to escape the logical consequences of the constitutional provision. Even the concessions that were made did not establish absolute religious freedom, legal or otherwise, as those who departed from the " true faith " discovered in the decades of the sixties, the seventies, and the eighties, when many departed for America with bitter memories of injustice inflicted upon themselves or upon their friends. But the old church was fighting a losing battle; religious forces were let loose that were irresistible, and religious leaders raised standards that were never furled in defeat.

One of the greatest of the nineteenth-century religious leaders, from whom other powerful leaders took their inspiration, did not have a drop of Swedish blood in his veins. His entrance into the religious life of Sweden brought with it an enduring Anglo-Saxon influence in the person of consecrated men and women born or indoctrinated and trained in America, and in the form of periodicals, tracts, sermons, and songs. Preceding his arrival there had been sporadic manifestations of puritanism and pietism, but there had been no great leader to knit them together.

George Scott ought to be better known among the people of Swedish blood in America. He was born in Edinburgh. As a young man of twenty-six he came to Sweden, in August, 1830, as chaplain to English workingmen in the employ of Samuel Owen, a manufacturer residing in Stockholm. He succeeded Joseph Rayner Stephens, who had begun preaching to the employes four years previously. Scott, a disciple of John Wesley, was a typical Methodist revivalist preacher. Within a twelvemonth he learned Swedish well enough to preach to large crowds of Stockholmers, who recognized in him a man with a message that was seldom, if ever, heard in their parish churches. Just as the Wesleys and Whitefield translated the message of the gospel into language comprehensible to men in the factories and mines of England, so did Scott awaken a new religious life among the humble people in the capital of Sweden, and his influence was soon extended to all parts of the realm through personal visits, organizations, and the printed page. He organized missionary societies, established papers, and made contacts with men of influence. His personality, zeal, and eloquence could not be denied. Perhaps his greatest contribution to the welfare of Sweden was the ultimate emancipation of her people from the bondage of *brännvin* drinking — which was sapping the vitality of the nation, demoralizing young and old, and contributing greatly to crime and poverty. In a real sense he was the founder of the temperance movement, although Samuel Owen must be recognized as a constant source of aid and inspiration. Peter Wieselgren, a pastor in the established church, is rightfully regarded as Sweden's greatest apostle of temperance, but he generously awarded Scott, with whom he was in personal contact and in constant correspondence, the honor of being the founder of temperance reform. Not only did Scott become a prominent figure through his work as editor of a temperance paper, but his connections with the British and Foreign Bible Society and with the Swedish Bible Society brought him into personal contact with such prominent churchmen as Johan Olof Wallin and Frans Mikael Franzén. He also received the favor of the king and members of the aristocracy.

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[1] *Wäktaren,* May 10, 1860.

The crowds that flocked to his meetings convinced Scott that a chapel to accommodate them was needed, and in 1837 he went to England to raise money for a new and larger building. On his return to Stockholm he sought permission to erect the chapel from the king, who referred the matter to the Stockholm Consistory. Though foreign ecclesiastical organizations had been granted the privilege of erecting churches before, Scott's request was carefully scrutinized by the clergy and the press; probably the influence of the Methodist preacher himself was feared more than that of his organization. Finally permission was granted, with the understanding that the existing law with reference to religious toleration should be carefully observed. The dedication of Bethlehem Chapel was celebrated with appropriate ceremony. Men prominent in the Church of Sweden officiated, and other important churchmen attended.

But the increasing boldness of Scott in denouncing the sins of individuals and of communities and his outspoken criticism of the worldly clergy made him and his chapel at the Haymarket the targets for the hostile shafts of certain influential ministers who smarted under the telling blows directed at them. Certain newspapers and the theater joined in the hue and cry, and a favorable opportunity was all that was awaited to put an end to his activities.

This opportunity was furnished by a tactical error made by Scott himself, although sooner or later almost any incident would have furnished a pretext for his enemies. In the summer of 1841 the Methodist missionary visited the United States to collect funds for the prosecution of his work. In urging upon his American audiences the necessity for the work of his mission, Scott made statements about certain conditions in Sweden, which, when separated from the context of his addresses and forwarded from America, could be interpreted as serious reflections on the Swedish people. Unwittingly or not, Scott had offended the proud and sensitive Swedes, and upon his return to Stockholm he found his calumniators even more vindictive and relentless than before. Threats were made against his life and against the lives of members of his family. The culmination of these tirades was reached on Palm Sunday, 1842, when a mob assembled at the Haymarket, rushed upon the chapel while Scott was in the pulpit, and broke up the meeting; only through a miracle did the preacher escape with his life. Although Scott had loyal and influential friends, his career in Sweden was ended. He could no longer rely upon the protection of the police authorities, and the good will of the king was probably alienated by fear of the introduction of persons from a republican state who might prove to be political rather than religious agents. His home threatened by the rabble, Scott yielded to the inevitable and publicly announced the discontinuation of services in the chapel; shortly afterward he left the realm. In 1859, when he returned for a short visit, he received the most friendly consideration from ecclesiastical authorities.

The Swedish people have never had a more sincere admirer and well-wisher than the Wesleyan missionary who was virtually banished as the result of propaganda from various sources, some of them antagonistic to each other.[2] As a true disciple of the Master whom he loved and emulated, Scott never lost interest in the spiritual welfare of Sweden. Although he minced no words in portraying the havoc wrought by the reckless use of liquor and the desecration of the Sabbath and in deploring the worldly character of the clergy, he saw much to praise in the ecclesiastical system of Sweden and he had a profound admiration for the sterling qualities of its people. During the years he preached in Sweden he never favored separation from the state church and many years later he stated publicly his entire lack of sympathy with the schismatic tendencies of the American Methodist missionaries in Sweden.[3]

Although the English and American Methodist churches sprang from a common source, he disclaimed all responsibility for the methods of the Americans and refused a request to take charge of their missionary activity in Sweden, for he disapproved of their efforts to form parties and to cause the schism that, in his opinion, was the undoing of his twelve years of work. He declared that it was folly to take a stand against Luther's writings and to increase the number of denominations in a land as large and as thinly populated as Sweden. He had faith in the state church and he believed that all that was needed was to breathe new life into it.[4]

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[2] Scott's life and influence in Sweden is the subject of investigation by Gunnar Westin of the faculty of Uppsala University. Dr. Westin is in possession of a vast collection of manuscript material, consisting of addresses, sermons, correspondence, official documents, and a diary, which Scott had preserved; some of this material the present writer has perused, through the courtesy of Dr. Westin. Documents pertaining to Scott's activity in Sweden are published in Gunnar Westin, *George Scott och hans verksamhet i Sverige. Handlingar, tal och brev,* Stockholm, 1928, p. 401. The first volume of his life of Scott, *George Scott och hans verksamhet i Sverige* (Stockholm, 1929) is a masterly discussion of the setting of Scott's work.

[3] *Wäktaren,* June 17, 1869.

[4] Letter of Scott to Wieselgren, November 8, 1871, in the *Stadsbibliotek* of Gothenburg.

Scott's great contribution was the impulse he gave to a moral renaissance in Sweden through the organization of temperance societies, through addresses and publications, and through the torch of his inspiration to a healthier religious practice — a torch throwing its rays into spiritual darkness — which he handed down to men and women who consecrated themselves to service among their countrymen in Sweden and America. The effects of this inspiration may be traced from the chapel at the Haymarket to hundreds of chapels and churches that dot the American landscape from Maine to California. The man who is rightly regarded as the first Swedish Lutheran pastor to minister to nineteenth-century immigrants, Lars Paul Esbjörn, then a pastor in the state church, wrote a most appealing letter to Scott in June, 1842, urging him to continue his invaluable work. Even though he was denied the privilege of preaching for a season, his very presence would be a contribution, Esbjörn wrote.[5]

Among those with whom Scott had personal relations were Fredrik Olaus Nilsson, destined to become one of the first Swedish Baptist preachers in America, who was associated with him in missionary and temperance work; Anders Wiberg, another Baptist pioneer in America and Sweden, who was in close contact with him and stood by him in the controversies that arose;[6] and, greatest of all, Carl Olof Rosenius, Sweden's greatest lay preacher and a prophet not without honor among Swedish-Americans of all creeds. Scott's mantle fell on Rosenius, who was altogether worthy of it. In the year he left Sweden Scott established *Pietisten,* which exercised an influence in Sweden comparable to the influence of Luther's ninety-five theses in Germany. Under the editorial guidance of Rosenius, *Pietisten* was more than a name; as has been well said, it became a program and a slogan.

Not the least of Scott's achievements was the importation of the American temperance agitator Robert Baird, who visited Sweden in the late summer of 1840 and accompanied Scott and Wieselgren on temperance tours, during which they spoke to large and enthusiastic crowds. Baird was already known in

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[5] Westin, *Handlingar,* 360–362.

[6] Westin, *Handlingar,* 386–387.

Sweden through the publication in translation of his book on the temperance movement in America and other countries.[7]

Since the temperance movement is an integral part of the religious revival that swept over the country, it is in order to lay before the reader the conditions that fired men to wage the crusade. By the middle of the century the use of the fiery *brännvin* had become so universal that, as one of the newspapers put it, "the distillation of *brännvin* is the corn of the Swedish nation; if you tread on it, the whole nation shrieks." [8] An old saying runs something like this: "What won't a German do for money and a Swede for a drink." In the decade of the thirties poverty, misery, crime, and economic depression began to show themselves very clearly, and *brännvin* must bear a portion of the blame. Drunkenness was punished lightly. All classes distilled the fiery liquor; lords of estates, farmers, ministers, and civil and military officers operated stills. A glass of spirits morning, noon, and night was a part of the diet of both men and women.[9] Even children were allowed portions of the drink that was regarded as a cure-all or a health-giving tonic. The per capita consumption of alcoholic liquor in Sweden exceeded that of every other country of Europe. Scott attributed this to the fact that the so-called better classes regarded alcohol as a household necessity and an important part of every meal. The lower classes, he said, following their example, in their ignorance carried the practice to still greater excess.[10] The prohibition of the distillation of *brännvin* for the household was vigorously opposed by the *bönder,* who were loath to give up the income they derived from it. The stills were generally attended by female employes throughout the winter until they were sealed by an official of the *län,* the local unit of government, analogous to the American county. The mash was fed to cattle, horses, and hogs. The distiller was permitted to sell as much of his product in his home community as he wished, and what could not be disposed of locally was marketed elsewhere. The price was very low, ranging from twenty-five to fifty *öre* a half-gallon.[11] The operation of a still was regarded as a right accompanying the ownership of land, and even ecclesiastics, whether parish pastors or bishops, as landowners were not denied the privilege; this circumstance discredited the church in the estimation of the pietists and it explains why the clergy as a class either took no interest in or frowned upon the temperance movement and more especially upon the methods of temperance societies.[12] On the other hand, the temperance agitation was associated with fanaticism, Methodism, and charlatanism by its enemies, who dubbed a drink a " Wieselgrenian " or an " inner missionary."[13]

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[7] R. Baird, *Historisk teckning af nykterhets-föreningar i Nord-Amerikas Förenta Stater jemte några upplysningar angående dessa föreningar i England, Sverige och andra länder. Öfversättning från fransyskan,* Stockholm, 1836. Baird wrote an account of his visit under the title *A Visit to Northern Europe: or Sketches Descriptive, Historical, Political, and Moral, of Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and Finland, etc.,* 2 vols., New York, 1841. He placed a low estimate on the moral status of Sweden.

[8] *Östgötha Correspondenten,* December 15, 1845.

[9] Carl Hallendorf, *Sveriges historia till våra dagar. Tolfte delen: Oskar I och Karl XV,* Stockholm, 1923, p. 151.

[10] Westin, *Handlingar,* 143–154.

Although it was more true of the temperance movement in the seventies and eighties, it is a fact that even at this earlier period it sprang from Anglo-Saxon soil and employed a technique foreign to the state church. It was therefore borne on the wings of the free-church movement. This explains to some degree the passive and even hostile stand of the church. The pastors could not whole-heartedly enter a campaign the methods of which differed from those of their ecclesiastical institution and the leaders of which were, in many cases, in open hostility to it. The parish pastors who did show sympathy were of the *läsare* type and were not admitted into the charmed social circles. Moreover, Lutheranism has always had a tendency to shy at Methodism, and its interpreters argue that legalism can at best remove only secondary causes. Therein lies both the strength and the weakness of the Lutheran church. It has certainly caused the church to be misunderstood wherever it has planted itself.[14] In an article that roused much criticism, Bishop Henrik Reuterdahl, later archbishop, made some pertinent and well-chosen remarks pointing to the exaggerations of the temperance advocates and objecting to their loose and unsound interpretations of certain passages in the Scriptures. He claimed that intelligent opposition was not always met with intelligence, and that unfair advantage was often taken of it by men who seized upon every pretext to confound the church.[15] And there were pastors enough who by intemperate conduct and speech discredited their more level-headed brethren, as is witnessed by this statement attributed to a pastor: "In regard to the Order of Good Templars, I want my parishioners to know that I would rather have a saloon in every home than a Good Templar lodge in my congregation." [16]

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[11] There are one hundred *öre* in a *krona,* which was then worth about twenty-seven cents.

[12] Johnsson, *Allmogeliv i Göinge. Kulturbilder från början och mitten av 1800-talet,* 38–40; Edv. Rodhe, *Kyrkan och nykterhetsrörelsen. En historisk studie,* Uppsala, 1915, pp. 21–23.

[13] Lecture by P. A. Siljeström, reported in *Aftonbladet,* June 25, 1853.

[14] Rodhe, *Kyrkan och nykterhetsrörelsen,* 7–8, 18, 108–113.

Statements from the pulpits directed against intensely earnest men and women, coupled with flagrant cases of intemperance among the clergy, made many recruits for the army hostile to the church. Of still more importance to the student of immigration is the fact that the men who laid the foundations of the Swedish Lutheran church in America were *läsare* pastors or laymen whose lives were shaped by *läsare* pastors. Nevertheless, Baptist, Methodist, and Mission Friend preachers took occasion to identify Swedish Lutheranism in America with Lutheranism in Sweden and in many minds fastened the state church stigma on it, notwithstanding the fact that the Lutheran clergy in neither country admitted that they were kindred spirits. To assert that the Augustana Synod, which since 1860 has included the bulk of the Swedish-American Lutherans, is the daughter of the Church of Sweden is to ignore the facts relating to religious conditions in the old country during the nineteenth century. If Luther was justified in refusing to grasp the hand of fellowship proffered by Zwingli at the celebrated Marburg Colloquy because the Swiss reformer was of "another spirit," well might the hand of the Augustana Synod be rejected by the state church. Well might the state church claim that the American body was tinged with Methodism or legalism and use its support of the Anti-Saloon League, amply recorded in the synodical minutes, as evidence.

The first Swedish-American Lutheran pastor, Lars P. Esbjörn, was in personal contact with Scott, Wieselgren, and other temperance workers and made temperance addresses on several occasions. In the remarkable collection of letters to Wieselgren there are a number from Esbjörn's pen written before his departure for America in 1849, and Esbjörn is mentioned in letters from other correspondents; thus it is evident that he was well known as a temperance agitator. Moreover, he was proud to be included among the *läsare* pastors and was in favor of the repeal of the *konventikelplakat.* Esbjörn's reputation as a temperance worker and *läsare* enhanced his usefulness but prevented his advancement. One of the first men he met upon his arrival in New York was Robert Baird, who greeted him cordially. Esbjörn preached twice in the Swedish Methodist church and made one temperance speech during his brief sojourn in New York. In his first letter to Wieselgren from America he deplored the proselytism of the Swedish Methodist, Jonas Hedström, and asserted that he was an entirely different person from Scott, who was a Wesleyan Methodist. Esbjörn was much disturbed over the institution of slavery and stated that, like intemperance, it was a national sin. He asked Wieselgren to send him historical proof that with the introduction of Christianity into Sweden slavery immediately became powerless. It was his wish that Sweden might contribute some fuel to the fire of charity that was trying to destroy slavery and thus give to America something in return for Baird's book.[17]

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[15] Rodhe, *Kyrkan och nykterhetsrörelsen*, 9 ff.

[16] *Praktiken*, Kristinehamn, February 26, 1887.

For several reasons it is of prime importance to emphasize the fact that the earliest Swedish Lutheran pastors in America — Esbjörn, Hasselquist, Carlsson, and Swensson — were dissatisfied with the state church and took care that the church they founded in the Mississippi Valley should have as little resemblance as possible to the ecclesiastical system in their native land. During the long period of his leadership in the Swedish-American Lutheran church — extending over nearly forty years — Hasselquist wrote several articles exposing the fatal effect of close alliance between church and state. Almost without exception the pastors who emigrated were free-church men, although some of them, like Esbjörn, modified their views.

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[17] The following material bearing upon this part of Esbjörn's career may be cited here: manuscript letters to Wieselgren in the *Stadsbibliotek* of Gothenburg, dated September 12, October 30, 1840, January 26, 1841, February 22, 1843, May 23, 1850; *Missions-Tidning,* Stockholm, June, 1850, pp. 44–47.

If the clergy as a class were indifferent or hostile to the cause of temperance, the herculean efforts of Peter Wieselgren redeemed the church in the estimation of many. He was a host in himself; and there were others, bishops and pastors[18] — the most prominent of the bishops being Johan Henrik Thomander, an apostle of total abstinence.[19] Wieselgren appealed to the common people, and soon there was scarcely any part of Sweden where his followers were not to be found. It is largely to his credit that the movement did not become secularized earlier and that it added fuel to the religious revival. He also lent respectability to the movement, and his many contacts brought to his assistance men in the fields of science, medicine, ethics, economics, and politics, including Crown Prince Oscar, who became honorary president of *Svenska Nykterhetssällskapet*.[20] Several newspapers opened their columns to temperance articles, the most important being *Aftonbladet,* the powerful Stockholm daily under the editorship of Lars Johan Hierta, a good friend of Wieselgren.[21] The influence of the United States is constantly in evidence — periodicals and newspapers featuring the Maine law, biographical sketches of Neal Dow and John B. Gough, and reports on the advance of temperance in certain states.[22]

In spite of the work of Scott and Wieselgren and their disciples, however, the consumption of *brännvin* increased up to the decade of the fifties, but everywhere there was evidence that an increasing number of people were becoming aware of the disastrous consequences. Sweden was robbed of any profit in the production of grain, and thousands were reduced to poverty and beggary through physical and economic ruin caused by the excessive use of liquor. It was not unusual to pay workingmen their wages wholly or in part in *brännvin,* and some of them complained that it was impossible to resist the temptation to drink, even though they were robbing their wives and children of food and clothing. *Brännvin* was used in almost every home, even the poorest. For whole days the *bönder* would come together to converse over the flowing bowl, and at markets and fairs there was quarreling and fighting, although crimes of violence were surprisingly rare.[23]

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[18] Sigfrid Wieselgren, *Peter Wieselgren. En lefnadsteckning,* Stockholm, 1900; P. Wieselgren, *Samlade skrifter i nykterhetsfrågan,* 2 vols., Stockholm, 1904; Ernst Newman, *Nordskånska väckelserörelser under 1800-talet,* Stockholm, 1925, pp. 351–352.

[19] Joh. Henr. Thomander, "Försvar för nykterhets-sällskaperna (1838)," *Skrifter,* Lund, 1879, 2: 282–317.

[20] Sigfrid Wieselgren, *Om svenska brännvinslagstiftningen 1855–1877, jemte granskning af den 20 december 1878 afgifvit komitébetänkande med förslag till nya brännvinsförfattningar,* Stockholm, 1880, pp. 4–6; Newman, *Nordskånska väckelserörelser,* 351–352; *Cleri comitialis circulär till samtlige herrar biskopar och consistorierne i riket,* Stockholm, 1841, pp. 11–12.

[21] Harald Wieselgren, *Lars Johan Hierta,* Stockholm, 1881. Among the most important newspaper were *Östgötha Correspondenten, Skara Tidning, Norrlands-Posten, Skånska Correspondenten,* and *Borås Tidning.*

[22] See *Den Swenske Nykterhets-Härolden,* Stockholm, July, 1853; October, November, 1854; and *Norrlands-Posten,* in which is reprinted material from *Bibel-Wännen,* April, May, 1853.

Under such conditions it was encouraging to the temperance advocates to find men taking the initiative in uniting their fellowmen in public protests against what was going on. In reporting the appearance of a new still that was daily converting large quantities of potatoes into *brännvin* one paper lamented that patriots were conducting themselves in such fashion at a time when the poor were starving and the price of bread was mounting. " But what matters it if people have no bread, so long as they have an abundance of *brännvin?* " was the sarcastic conclusion.[24] At a parish meeting in Småland a resolution was unanimously adopted that landowners and cultivators of the soil should not serve *brännvin* to servants and employes and particularly not to the growing generation. Neither should liquor be served to tailors and cobblers. It had been the custom to serve *brännvin* to these men at breakfast and at the evening meal and to all laborers during the threshing season. The curate of this congregation was a warm friend of temperance.[25] A petition addressed to the presiding officer of the *Bondeståndet,* signed by artisans and agricultural workers of various classes, complained of bad living conditions and attributed the distress to the fact that the farmers sold all their grain to the distilleries, which paid the best prices. The consequence was that the entire crop in the community was sold early, and the petitioners had to travel considerable distances at great loss of time to purchase grain at high prices. They prayed that distilleries be abolished by law.[26] About 1840 " temperance savings banks " were established, in which a person who used liquor could make deposits in favor of his children and servants who were adherents of temperance.[27] Through the influence of pastors some people banished the use of *brännvin* at funerals, although this was done reluctantly because of the criticism of their neighbors, who alleged that stinginess and not temperance was at the bottom of the reform.[28] In some parishes opposition to the distilleries was so intense that mobs destroyed them or threatened the owners with violence.[29]

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[23] C. A. Agardh and C. E. Ljungberg, *Försök till en statsekonomisk statistisk öfver Sverige,* Karlstad, 1857, 3: 300 ff. Sam. A. Johansson, *Ur minnet,* 22–23; *Kongl. Maj:ts befallningshafvandes femårsberättelse;* Theodor Mügge, *Sverige 1843–1844,* Stockholm, 1845, 1: 71 ff.

[24] *Malmö Allehanda,* reprinted in *Carlshamns Allehanda,* November 9, 1853.

[25] *Aftonbladet,* reprinted in *Hwad Nytt?* July 15, 1855.

This is not the place to relate the history of the legislation that curtailed the production of *brännvin* nor to discuss the later phase of the temperance movement that appeared in the decade of the seventies. It will suffice to say that as a result of legislation in the middle of the fifth decade the reign of King Alcohol was curbed somewhat, and the consumption of *brännvin* declined. To this salutary change the *läsare* movement contributed in no small degree. This phase of religious history is so important that it merits extended consideration.

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[26] *Aftonbladet,* reprinted in *Östgötha Correspondenten,* July 26, 1851. The *Bondeståndet* was one of the four chambers of the Diet, representing the landowning peasants.

[27] *Skara Tidning,* July 29, 1841.

[28] Johansson, *Ur minnet,* 38–42.

[29] *Nya Wexjö-Bladet,* November 18, 1853, October 5, 1855.

CHAPTER III

THE LÄSARE

THE nineteenth century brought with it a second religious reformation in Sweden, a reformation just as radical and profound as the one effected by Gustavus Vasa in the sixteenth century. The latter came from above and was mainly doctrinal; the statesman and the theologian held the reins. In the nineteenth century the situation passed beyond the control of men skilled in statesmanship and ecclesiastical polity, and men of simple faith and often of humble birth assumed leadership; they faltered at times, it is true, but they were none the less successful in changing the hearts of men and shaping a new order of things. The older reformation was German; the younger was Anglo-Saxon and, in the later stages, almost exclusively American. The pioneer crusader against Roman Catholicism, Olaus Petri, was the son of a blacksmith, who had studied under the friar of Wittenberg; the protestants against the dry rot of Lutheran orthodoxy were sons of peasants and artisans, who drew their inspiration from the Scriptures as interpreted in sermons, songs, and tracts that breathed the practical religion of the American frontier. So far was the state church from the ideal of the new reformers that even a pastor in its service could say in 1854: "The spiritual level in church and state is so low that conditions could hardly be worse if we were under the dominion of the papacy."[1]

The movement toward democracy lagged far behind the Lutheran Reformation, but the pietistic reformation and political reform went hand in hand. The conservatives were quick to sense the political importance of the conventicles, and the radicals, who doubted that the king ruled by the grace of God and questioned the right of nobles and ecclesiastics to hold seats in the *Riksdag,* were not the men to array themselves against the laity in an effort to break down the theological and legal walls behind which the clergy defended themselves, even though political and religious radicalism as such were at odds on some matters. "Pietism is unmistakably democratic by nature," commented a conservative periodical; "it advances against the duly constituted authorities in the church, with all the trappings of democracy and with hate and enmity against the established order."[2] As a part of the government the clerical estate felt the lash of the liberal reformers. If the common people were to have a potent voice in government through the right of suffrage and a democratic system of representation, why should not laymen preach and administer the sacraments? The state church took the position that individuals cannot be regenerated through social and political reforms, because such reforms do not go to the bottom of the evil. The free-church element held that they were a necessary preparation for a more fundamental reform, that people were more ready to receive spiritual help if material assistance was granted.

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[1] Wadström, *Ur minnet och dagboken. Anteckningar från åren 1848–1897,* 1:364. The statement was made by Hans Birger Hammar at a meeting to advance the cause of religious freedom.

The established church did not bring its message to the cottages; it was an impersonal institution content to instruct in the principles of Christianity and to observe prescribed forms and ceremonies. Its preaching had little of that simplicity and appeal to childlike faith that arouses the conscience and awakens the sinner to a better and more active life. Its membership was open to all — the unregenerate as well as the regenerate. The *läsare* preacher was one whose daily life conformed to his teachings; unlike many preachers in the state church, conscience did not prompt him to say, "Follow my precepts, but not my example."[3] The dissenters were fond of a story that emphasized the distinction between the church and the frequenters of conventicles. It was related that upon a certain occasion a crown official was informed that a conventicle was in session at a certain place. He hastened to the scene; finding no one reading the Bible but only a table laden with bottles, glasses, and playing cards, the officer of the law exclaimed: "There are no *läsare* here; these people are good Lutherans!"[4]

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[2] *Nya Swenska Minerva,* quoted in *Nerikes Allahanda,* May 3, 1851. See also *Norrlands-Posten,* October 6, 1849; *Aftonbladet,* August 8, 1844.

[3] Mügge, *Sverige 1843–1844,* 1: 255.

[4] *Anders Wibergs lif och verksamhet,* 78. For a description of this volume see Chapter V, note 12.

To those who relished this story the church was a "Babel, a remnant of popery."[5]

In general the pietists were strong Lutherans, but in their eagerness to stress the practical and humanitarian side of life some of them paid rather slight attention to confessional shades and boundaries, although a few — relatively speaking — who embraced Baptist and Methodist doctrines attacked the scriptural soundness of Lutheranism. The Lutheran pietists, who usually were regular in their attendance at church and read Lutheran devotional books, insisted that they had as much right to meet for spiritual enjoyment, to read the Bible, to sing and pray, as others who assembled undisturbed by pastor or crown official to dance, play cards, drink, or attend theatrical performances.[6]

At the beginning of the forties sectarianism was one of the topics of the day in Sweden.[7] It manifested itself in sporadic meetings in various parts of the country, and each cult had a distinctive doctrinal coloring. In the popular mind, however, the neophytes were grouped under the term *läsare,* which connotes pietism and nonconformity. The term originated in the practice of meeting in homes to read the Bible and devotional books, whence came the name "readers," or *läsare.* Throughout the century anyone whose life radiated Christian excellence or who developed special points of view in religion, whether he was constant in attendance at services in the parish church or a frequenter of meetings of Baptists, Methodists, Mormons, Eric-Jansonists, or Mission Friends, was likely to be known as a *läsare.* As applied to cults in the present century the term is not obsolete.

It must not be assumed that the centuries previous to the nineteenth were barren of pietism, but it is not to our purpose to consider the earlier manifestations, except as they have a bearing on religious developments in the years of emigration, as they explain why numbers deserted the fatherland and how existent conditions were reflected in America. It should be remembered that the *konventikelplakat* was enacted in an environment that produced dissenters and that this was at the close of the first quarter of the eighteenth century.[8]

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[5] *Evangelisten,* June 30, 1860, p. 206. This is a Baptist publication.

[6] *Norrlands-Posten,* March 3, 1843; communication of J. J. Risberg to J. E. Ekblom, in *Julhelg,* 1925, p. 81.

[7] *Barometern,* Kalmar, April 20, 1842.

Herrnhutism took hold in Sweden as well as in Germany, and perhaps the most important individual who voiced its spirit was Anders Carl Rutström, who was banished from the realm in 1765.[9] The more primitive and remote northern provinces gave birth to religious movements that spread to other regions. In Norrland the population was sparse, and the distances to churches were great. The villages were separated by great, deep forests, and each felt itself almost an independent community. The parishes were very large, and many people counted themselves fortunate if they were able to attend church once or twice a year; some children had never seen the church until they were of confirmation age. Living in an environment where nature was inexorable and often cruel, where superstition crept into every home, and where in the nature of the case the discipline of the church was lax, the people were likely to develop special points of view. At the close of the eighteenth century the frequenters of conventicles were numerous and, to distinguish them from a later movement, came to be called *gammalläsarne,* or "old readers."[10] They were not fanatics. When he went to church — a journey of four or five days, perhaps — every man carried with him a bottle of *brännvin,* and at weddings it might even be permissible to imbibe a little too freely and to indulge in the pleasures of the dance. *Nyläsarne,* or the "new readers," adherents of a sect that had its beginnings in the early years of the next century, were more radical and tended toward separation from the state church, particularly after the adoption of the new catechism, in 1810, the hymnal of 1811, and the hymnal of 1819. They detected in these books traces of neology and the doctrine of good works as a means of salvation. A Finnish pastor, Frans G. Hedberg, was especially hostile to this literature and advocated separation. Conditions were never peaceful within the state church after the adoption of the new books, but the question of separatism did not become serious so long as the people had the option of using either the old books or the new.[11] After the use of the latter became compulsory, however, and the Hedbergians felt the teeth of the *konventikelplakat,* strife and schism arose, and some members of the sect emigrated to America and settled in Goodhue and Kandiyohi counties, Minnesota.[12] They pressed justification by faith to antinomian extremes.

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[8] E. J. Ekman's *Inre missionens historia,* Jönköping, 1921, presents a satisfactory account of pietism in the eighteenth century. Perhaps the best available book for American readers is John Wordsworth (Bishop of Salisbury), *The National Church of Sweden: The Hale Lectures,* Milwaukee, 1911.

[9] Consult Hilding Pleijel, *Herrnhutismen i Sydsverige,* Stockholm, 1925.

[10] Carl Edquist, *Läseriet i Skelleftebygden under 1800-talet,* Stockholm, 1917, pp. 9–13.

Akin to the "new readers" were the disciples of Lars Levi Laestadius (1800–1861), an eccentric pastor in the established church, whose abject poverty during the years of childhood and whose close communion with nature molded his character and speech in such a way that he was distrusted by the clergy but loved and listened to by the common people. He was a learned man and an eminent botanist, and his rough, realistic language made a deep impression on those who heard him preach. He converted his parish from a riot of drunkenness to a paradise of temperance by preaching the law and enforcing strict discipline.[13]

If we may characterize the Norrland *läsare* as a group, without regard to shades of differences, it may be said that they shunned the companionship of the ungodly, read the Bible, attended church, partook of the sacraments, were clean in speech, and abhorred everything repugnant to their awakened consciences. Among them, however, were some who found the spirit too powerful and fell victims to trances, jerks, and groans — phenomena that were displayed in even more remarkable fashion in the province of Småland, further to the south.

Perhaps it is but a coincidence that that part of Sweden which has produced the most spectacular religious phenomena has also contributed most heavily, especially in the earlier years, to the emigrant horde and has contributed more than its share of religious leaders among the Swedes in America. The province in question, Småland, is reputed to contain the poorest soil and the most versatile and energetic people in the entire kingdom. Perhaps Providence has endowed the Smålänning with a spirit that enables him to overcome the obstacles that nature has thrown in his way; or perhaps his will has been rendered indomitable and his wit sharpened as a result of a constant contest with rocks and stones that defy his hoe and dull his scythe and with late and early frosts that blight his crops. Perhaps his religious nature, his fondness for mystical scriptural passages, his ability to dream and to see visions were given to him as a solace for disappointments, periodical famines, and a table bare of everything but mere necessities except on extraordinary occasions, such as the marriage or death of a member of his family. The industry, resourcefulness, and ambition of the Smålänning, combined with a ready tongue, a superstitious nature, and a delight in the mystical and the wonderful, is proverbial. Crystal lakes, mirroring pine-clad hills, rugged rocks, and azure blue skies have made Småland a fit habitat for goblins, elves, witches, and demons, whose pranks and deviltry have amused or tormented people since time immemorial.

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[11] *Norrlands-Posten,* June 2, 1849.

[12] The largest number settled in Kandiyohi County. They had no formal church organization until 1892, when a congregation in Willmar was incorporated under the name of the "Swedish Lutheran Society," and a church was erected. To this day the old books are used. They consider themselves the "true" Lutherans. See Jesper Holmquist, "Några blad ur läseriets historia," *Korsbaneret,* Rock Island, 1920, pp. 86–95.

[13] Ekman, *Inre missionens historia,* 120–150.

In the first years of the decade of the forties, Småland was the scene of a religious manifestation that flooded the newspapers with weird stories. The explanation of the phenomenon taxed the ingenuity of scientists and theologians and even brought physicians of repute to study it at first hand. This religious ecstasy — some called it a disease — was termed *predikosjukan,* that is, the " preaching sickness." In its most contagious and aggravated form it appeared in Småland and more particularly in Jönköpings *län,* but it spread also to Västergötland, Värmland, and other provinces. It is significant, however, that it was usually known as the "Småland preaching sickness." The psychologist and the theologian would probably have difficulty in agreeing as to its cause, but the historian knows that in 1839 and 1840 the Methodist George Scott was in close touch with the religious work in Jönköping and that many people in that region had come under the spell of powerful revivalist preachers, the most influential of whom was Jacob

Otto Hoof, a curate at Svenljunga.[14] Scott was held in worshipful reverence, and an elderly woman is reported to have said that the Savior himself had returned to earth in the person of the venerated Methodist.[15] It appears also that the influence of America was an important factor, largely through the spread of literature, the contents of which sifted down to the humble and simple-minded folk from revivalist pastors and laymen.

There were, however, important exceptions. According to a physician who investigated conditions in Hjälmseryd, where there were many victims, the pastor and several well-informed persons stated that within the memory of man there had never been the slightest tendency toward pietism in the parish and that some of the victims were normal up to the time of seizure. They testified that throughout Jönköpings *län* the people of Hjälmseryd were reputed to be of sensible and sturdy stock but at the same time a stiff-necked and stern generation, contentious and pugnacious, and difficult for the pastors to hold in check. Nevertheless, so it was stated, these people were not immune to " wonder-working miracles " that transformed their apathy into religious ecstacy.[16]

In dealing with a religious or psychological phenomenon so abnormal as the "preaching sickness," the historian, whether skeptic or believer, is confronted with documentary evidence so contradictory that for once he is tempted to go beyond the evidence and read into his material "facts" that are not there. The pietistic persons who saw "victims" of the "sickness" admitted the abnormality of the phenomenon but explained it by saying that the "wind of the Holy Spirit" was too powerful for some people. To a friend in America George Scott wrote that, in addition to the many kinds of political agitation that made for discontent and the efforts to spread the skepticism of Strauss, there was a peculiar movement in the entire province of Småland; that girls from ten to twenty years of age were under a spell they said they were unable to throw off. Hundreds and even thousands, he said, gathered to hear the "preachers"; some were converted, returned stolen property, and became temperate. He was convinced that a general revival was about to spread over the entire country.[17]

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[14] J. G. Hazén, " Några minnen från religionslifvet i Västbo," *Växjö stifts hembyggdskalendern år 1912,* 14–25; Johansson, *Ur minnet,* 31–34.

[15] Letter from Jönköpings *län* to *Aftonbladet,* January 12, 1842; *Götheborgs Handels- och Sjöfarts-Tidning,* January 16, 1845.

[16] S. E. Sköldberg, *Om chorean inom Jönköpings län och det deraf uppkomna religiösa svärmeriet, Jönköping,* 1843, pp. 5–6.

A bishop who saw persons seized with spasms and jerks, their faces distorted, and heard their "preaching" wrote that the sermons consisted of simple admonitions to repentance and the renunciation of sins such as card-playing, dancing, drunkenness, and pride. In the region he visited he found that the people had an unusually good education in the fundamentals of the Christian religion and that the "sick" were no exceptions. Some of them, he learned, answered questions with unusual insight and clarity and admitted their sinful nature and need of God's mercy.[18] A provincial physician who made a somewhat extended report on the phenomenon in Jönköpings *län* was inclined to link up the "preaching" with physical disorder, although he made a distinction between the physical ailment as such and the *läsare* movement. In his judgment the *läsare* movement had traits in common with similar phenomena in all countries where the temperament of the people has a tendency toward exaggerations and excesses. He found individuals who shouted, jumped, rolled, barked like dogs, sang, and jerked, but most of them were melancholic and given to introspection. The people looked upon the victims of the "sickness" as holy persons, who would soon be free from all work and worry. At a number of places all work was suspended; cattle were given their fodder and allowed to roam at large, in order that the judgment day might not come upon them with yokes on their necks. He found that different people were attacked in different communities; in some places the victims were youths and men, in other places, maidens and old women.[19] Another physician, who did not always agree with the physician just quoted but who believed that the physical disorder was in the nature of St. Vitus's dance, placed

[17] Letter dated April 3, 1842, in *Aftonbladet,* September 21, 1842. See also *Anders Wibergs lif och verksamhet,* 23; Nyvall, *Min faders testamente,* 53; Johansson, *Ur minnet,* 31–34.

[18] Bishop Butsch made an intensive study of certain communities in Älvsborgs *län.* His report is published in *Aftonbladet,* September 6, 7, 1842.

[19] Sköldberg, *Om chorean inom Jönköpings län och det deraf uppkomna religiösa svärmeriet.*

part of the blame on the influence that *läsare* pastors and sectarian preachers had upon people physically and mentally disordered. He also claimed that the temperance agitators were partly responsible.[20]

It is said that the number of victims of the "preaching sickness" was between two and three thousand. Although the phenomenon was the most widespread and remarkable in Småland and especially in Jönköpings *län,* it spread also to neighboring communities. It was most violent in the years 1841 and 1842, but it continued into the decade of the sixties and even into the seventies.[21]

In general the people who assembled to listen to the "preachers" and to witness the "treeing of the devil" were harmless, but there were occasions when disorder resulted, usually as a result of interference on the part of parish pastors and crown officials. There is record of instances where services in the parish churches were interrupted by "preachers," and when attempts were made to remove the disturbers others rushed to their defense. Sometimes when pastors attempted to disperse the crowds, they were compelled to leave under threats and gibes. Ministers warned people from the pulpit that the "preachers" and *läsare* were full of the devil rather than the Holy Spirit; sometimes they were whipped, fined, or put in jail. The displeasure of the officers also fell upon people who allowed the *läsare* to meet in their homes. Occasionally medical treatment was given.[22] These measures probably had little effect except to make martyrs and to give even greater publicity to the movement.

Remarkable as it is that boys and girls, men and women, in Sweden in the middle of the nineteenth century should have gone into trances, seen visions, shouted, jerked, and groaned, similar abnormal manifestations have occurred in other countries in various times. Sometimes John Wesley's meetings were disturbed by wild shouting, crying, and stamping people. Wesley did not encourage these displays of emotion; in fact, he was astonished at them and opposed them, but it appears that by his words he set in motion forces that were ready to break forth.[23] The significance of the Småland phenomenon, therefore, seems to be that the simple, unlearned, and superstitious people were mightily moved by evangelistic preachers, who were forerunners of a great religious revival that was destined to shake the religious foundations of Sweden and to inaugurate a new day in its religious development. The historian cannot explain these things, but he can record their occurrence and correlate them with events even more significant that either accompanied or grew out of them.

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[20] C. U. Sondén, "Anteckningar och reflexioner, angående *den epidemiska religiösa Ecstas,* som herrskade i Sverige år 1841 och 1842; en sjukdom i medeltiden, känd under namnet: Chorea S:t Viti," *Hygiea,* Stockholm, December, 1842–July, 1843.

[21] Ekman, *Inre missionens historia,* 198.

[22] *Upsala Tidningen,* March 29, June 25, July 22, 1842; *Aftonbladet,* August 25, October 29, 1842; *Skara Tidning,* November 3, 1842; Hazén, "Några minnen från religionslifvet i Västbo," *Växjö stifts hembyggdskalendern år 1912,* 14–25; Johnsson, *Allmogeliv i Göinge,* 178.

Just as Europe was ready for a reformation before Luther posted his ninety-five theses, so was Sweden on the eve of a great religious revival when George Scott began his great work in Stockholm. During the years from 1840 to 1850 almost every part of Sweden reported the activity of lay preachers, many of whom were school teachers, by training and education qualified to lead the multitudes starving for spiritual nourishment. In spite of opposition from the civil and ecclesiastical authorities these men traveled from parish to parish, calling the faithful to meetings in homes and in out-of-the-way places where there was likely to be less interference from enemies. Although there were pastors from the church and members of the nobility who encouraged and even preached at these informal gatherings, the leaders usually were of the plain people, a circumstance that often brought ridicule on the whole *läsare* movement from those who had the conventional idea of religion and those who had little interest in any form of religion.[24] Many newspaper accounts of the time describe how crude and boorish men playing the rôle of preachers attracted credulous old ladies and immature girls, who not only encouraged them by their presence but also "witnessed" for the truth.[25]

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[23] V. Grönbech, *Religiösa strömningar under det nittonde århundradet. Bemyndigad översättning från Danska originalet av Axel Nihlen*, Stockholm, 1923, pp. 12–13.

[24] Count Adolph Reinhold Louis Stackelberg was a religious force in Småland and Östergötland. His example and lay preaching brought about a profound change in morals and customs in the late forties and fifties. Most of the pastors did not approve of the count's activity, even though it bore good fruit, because it was "unchurchly." Wadström, *Ur minnet och dagboken*, 2: 77–89.

In the earlier years even the separatist preachers appealed to Luther's writings on baptism, the Lord's Supper, the conception of the ministry, the function of laymen, and other matters of doctrine and polity, but there were occasions when the outspoken opposition of the regular pastors to the *läsare* was so irritating that the "conventicle preachers," as they were sometimes called, allowed their emotions to overcome their better judgment by asking questions about the "new birth," denying that they were heretics, and making statements that irritated the pastors and prompted them to invoke the *konventikelplakat* against them. When brought before the officials the accused denied that their doctrine was unsound and asserted that the "wise of this world" were unable to discern the true teachings of the Bible.[26]

Fortunately the dissemination of the gospel was not entirely dependent upon the activity of laymen; some of the greatest work was done by parish pastors, strong men who threw away their manuscripts and preached sermons that were understood by the people. The fame of these evangelistic pastors quickly spread, and people came from great distances to hear them. Their churches were packed; people sat in windows and stood in aisles to listen to sermons that sometimes lasted for over two hours and then stayed for the catechetical instruction that followed the regular service. Jealous of their popular colleagues, pastors reported them to their bishops, alleging that their sermons were one-sided and un-Lutheran. The bishops admonished them to stick to their manuscripts, but even with the manuscripts before them it was possible to make interpolations that gave a certain tone to the whole sermon. C. J. L. Almquist's delightful little story "The Chapel" is faithful to reality in picturing the young pastor who preached to the fisher folk for the first time as throwing away his carefully prepared sermon and speaking from the promptings of the heart.[27] Another way of discrediting the "free" pastors was to write communications to the newspapers attacking them and misquoting them, deliberately or otherwise.

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[25] *Nya Wexjö-Bladet,* December 7, 1860.

[26] *Femårsberättelse,* Wester-Norrlands *län,* 1851–1855, pp. 13–15; Wermlands *län,* Calmar *län,* Elfsborgs *län,* 1856–1860; *Norrlands-Posten,* May 5, 1851; *Borås Tidning,* March 9, 1854; *Dalpilen,* Falun, February 7, 1857; Wadström, *Ur minnet och dagboken,* 1:241–243; G. Westling, "Den religiösa ställningen inom Linköpings stift under 1800-talet," *Kyrkohistorisk årsskrift,* Uppsala, 1913, pp. 37–182.

In the earlier years of the revival movement most of the *läsare* pastors were of the Schartaun school, thoroughly orthodox on the Lutheran doctrine of the "means of grace." During his lifetime Henric Schartau was a powerful force, but it was after his death in 1825 that his influence was felt most, through his published sermons and writings. He was not unaware of the defects of the church, but his high-church leanings caused him to oppose lay preaching and conventicles and anything that might lead to separatism. He maintained that pietism was too human in religion and too religious in human affairs. In his earlier years he came under the influence of Herrnhutism, but this type of pietism was too "free" to hold him. His influence has largely molded the southern and western dioceses — Lund, Gothenburg, Skara, and the southern part of Karlstad, including the provinces of Skåne, Halland, Gothenburg, Bohuslän, Västergötland, and Dalarna. Some of the early pastors in the Augustana Synod were Schartauns, and this helps to explain why that organization failed to appeal to the pietists, who were not so slavish in their adherence to the prescribed order of the "means of grace."[28] The free-church pietists were strongly influenced by Methodism and were not so fearful of the free spirit as were the Schartauns, who laid much stress on "pure doctrine" and shunned everything that suggested heterodoxy and liberalism in church and state. The two most prominent disciples of Schartau in the state church in the first years of the revival were Peter Lorenz Sellergren (1769–1843) and Pehr Nyman (1794–1856). Sellergren's influence was strongest in Småland and the adjoining parts of Östergötland and Blekinge. His presence was commanding, and his eyes flashed fire. Nyman was a pastor in southwestern Småland and southeastern Skåne. The fact that he held conventicles and savagely criticized his fellow pastors got him into trouble with the church authorities. Both Sellergren and Nyman were powerful temperance agitators and did much to elevate the morals of individuals and communities that came under their influence. Many of the early immigrants had either heard, or heard of, these men.[29]

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[27] Johansson, *Ur minnet,* 28–31; Newman, *Nordskånska väckelserörelser under 1800-talet,* 300.

[28] H. Hägglund, *Henric Schartau. Till hundraårsminnet,* Stockholm, 1924; Newman, *Nordskånska väckelserörelser,* 317–357; S. G. Hägglund, "Types of Piety in the Augustana Synod — Schartauism," *Augustana Quarterly,* Rock Island, December, 1928, pp. 335–341.

Next to Rosenius the religious leader in Sweden best known and most beloved among the Swedes in America is Peter Fjellstedt (1802–1881), a man of tireless energy, great intellect, and marvelous linguistic ability. He was born in a humble home in Värmland, hounded by poverty. He secured a good education by dint of sacrifice and industry and was ordained pastor in the state church. After some years of activity as a missionary and traveling preacher in Asia and Europe, he returned to Sweden and by the middle of the forties gave the impulse to the missionary activity that radiated from Lund. He was a voluminous writer and editor,[30] and his appearance in the pulpit and on the platform was sensational because of his unusual power of extemporaneous speaking and praying. He was directly and indirectly responsible for the establishment of institutions of mercy and an institute for the training of colporteurs and lay preachers. A number of pastors in America received their training, wholly or in part, in the "Fjellstedt school," located first at Lund, then at Stockholm, and finally at Uppsala, where it still functions. Always interested in the cause of missions, Fjellstedt followed the development of the Swedish Lutheran church in America closely and was in constant correspondence with its leaders, giving them advice and encouragement, lending financial assistance, and prevailing upon young men to prepare themselves for the work of ministering to their countrymen who were pioneering in the New World. He shares with Wieselgren the honor of assisting in a direct way the promotion of Swedish Lutheranism in the United States. He was sorely tempted to accept the call to become the Scandinavian professor at the newly founded Illinois State University at Springfield when the position was offered him in 1857, but he decided that Sweden offered a greater field. One cannot resist the temptation to speculate upon what might have been the destiny of the Augustana Synod if a man of the broad vision and attainments of Fjellstedt had put its educational activity under way and had projected his compelling personality into Swedish-American Lutheranism.[31]

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[29] Newman, *Nordskånska väckelserörelser*, 221–316.

[30] He was editor of *Lunds Missions-Tidning* and *Bibel-Wännen* and author of *Biblia, det är all den Heliga Skrift, med förklaringar.*

An elemental man who dared to break with custom and tradition, Fjellstedt was not afraid to defend lay preachers against the attacks leveled at them by the conventional pastors. One layman in particular — a physically powerful specimen who had been a card-player and a drunkard — was called "Fjellstedt" Andersson because of the interest Fjellstedt manifested in him. In print Fjellstedt denied that this man was a thief and a lawbreaker and protested the injustice of condemning the *läsare* without fair trials. He denied that the *läsare* in Värmland absolved one another from sin, climbed to the housetops in order to meet angels, and practiced other absurdities charged against them. He hoped that the peaceful people of Värmland who felt the need of Christianity not only within the walls of a church but also in everyday intercourse would be left in peace and that they would not be provoked to a large emigration, as had been the case in other regions.[32]

Associated with Fjellstedt was A. P. Ahlberg (1823–1887), a masterful, gifted, and many-sided, although somewhat eccentric, man. For a time he was a pastor in the state church and later was connected with the "Fjellstedt school" at Stockholm, having charge of the department to train laymen. When the institute was moved to Uppsala, Ahlberg set up a school for the training of laymen at Kristdala, which was later moved to Ahlsborg, near Hvetlanda. Here were trained a considerable number of men who later served as pastors and teachers in America. Under Ahlberg's influence these men were more churchly than the hyperevangelical *läsare,* who felt more at home among the Mission Friends in Sweden and America.[33] Mention will be made later of other men whose names are worthy of honor, but before considering the organizations that furthered the work of the *läsare* special consideration must be given to the greatest religious force in nineteenth-century Sweden.

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[31] Fjellstedt's relations with the Augustana Synod will be discussed more fully in another place. See pages 167 to 175. For a brief sketch of Fjellstedt see Ekman, *Inre missionens historia,* 299–325. A few extracts from letters from America and several paragraphs concerning his interest in Swedish-American churches are in Emilia Ahnfelt-Laurin, *Peter Fjellstedt. Hans verksamhet i fosterlandet mellan åren 1843–1881,* Stockholm, 1881. Illuminating comments are printed in the following: Nyvall, *Min faders testamente,* 63–64; Johansson, *Ur minnet,* 37–38; *Skara Tidning,* November 11, 1843.

[32] *Lunds Missions-Tidning,* April, 1854. In his allusions to the emigrants who left on account of religious persecution or dissatisfaction, Fjellstedt no doubt had in mind the Eric-Jansonists and a number of Baptists as well as individuals who remained within the state church. A. Lignell, a pastor in Värmland, replied to Fjellstedt's article on "Läseriet i Wermland" in a sixteen-page pamphlet published as a "Bihang till *Nya Wermlands-Tidningen,*" on April 26, 1854. He denied that there was any connection between emigration and the religious situation, citing the case of Norway, where emigration was large and where there was nothing to correspond with the *läsare* movement. Further references to the activity of "Fjellstedt" Andersson are in *Dalpilen,* Falun, August 11, 1854, and *Östgötha Correspondenten,* August 12, 1854.

Carl Olof Rosenius (1816–1868) was born and reared in upper Norrland, where, as we have seen, pietistic movements were strong, but it was Scott's pietistic ideas he accepted, although he never deviated from the teachings of Luther, in which he was thoroughly grounded. Although Schartau and Rosenius were the two most remarkable religious personalities, they were in several respects opposites. The preaching of the former was more legalistic, whereas the latter had a strain of Herrnhutism and Norrland pietism. Although he had experienced a severe spiritual crisis, Rosenius, unlike many who have had similar experiences, kept his balance and was able to differ gracefully with men who, like himself, planted their faith squarely on the Scriptures as divinely inspired and infallible but whose interpretations were different. To Rosenius the Bible was an organic unity, and every word had its value for revelation, whether it could be explained or not. He had little faith in the state church, because he thought it quenched the spirit, though his love for it was too deep to allow him to drift into separatism. He preferred to remain a layman all his life rather than to entangle himself in the meshes of a system that would greatly narrow the sphere of his activity. His position with reference to the doctrine and polity of the state church was of tremendous consequence. His loyalty to it kept thousands within its fold who otherwise might have found a spiritual home elsewhere. The key to his career was the belief that the old church could be reformed from within; that through the activity of laymen spiritual life could be breathed into it.

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[33] Ekman, *Inre missionens historia,* 348–352; Johansson, *Ur minnet,* 158–166; E. Aug. Skogsbergh, *Minnen och upplevelser under min mer än femtioåriga predikoverksamhet,* Minneapolis, 1925, pp. 51–52.

The great contribution of Rosenius consists not only in the revival of a sound Christian life, grounded in the teachings of an inspired and infallible Bible, but also in the emphasis on the practical side of religion, a view of religion not as a "means of grace" but as the accompaniment of Christian citizenship. However, it must be said that the central theme of the Rosenian revival was the doctrine of the atonement and justification by faith — the antithesis of rationalism and modernism. The practical side of Rosenius' preaching and writings was strongly tinged with American ideas. One of the most remarkable religious revivals in history swept over the United States in 1857 and 1858, and it was not confined within the boundaries of the one country. Sweden was flooded with American devotional literature, much of which was translated and fell into the hands of the common people. As time went on, almost every issue of the free-church papers included stories characterized by typical American moralizing, and many tracts were translations from American literature. As the successor of Scott in the position of editor of *Pietisten* and also as editor of *Missions-Tidningen,* Rosenius had access to a great mass of American and English publications and he drew liberally on it. Unlike the parish pastors, who despised the American religious influence, Rosenius and the free-church people saw in the United States the most Christian country in the world and were not ashamed to acknowledge indebtedness to their brethren in America for inspiration, example, and material support. Some of them, more especially the Baptists and the Methodists, thought it was providential that America was discovered so late; that God had held this continent in reserve until the fullness of time, when the faithful could find a refuge from persecution, and practical Christianity could be worked out. In Sweden the law was the protector of the mighty; American legislation, on the contrary, was shaped in the interest of the lowly and downtrodden and knew no discrimination between the poor in spirit and those who made broad their phylacteries.[34]

Just as Luther had his Hans Sachs, so Rosenius had his Lina Sandell. The songs in the *Psalmbok* of the established church were chiefly concerned with man's relation to God, but the *läsare* also sang about his relations with his neighbors, and his songs were set to tunes that made the heart lighter. The man who inspired the song writers was Rosenius, himself the author of a number of songs that were published in *Pietisten.* The greatest hymnologist was that remarkable woman Lina Sandell (Mrs. C. O. Berg), the daughter of a pastor in Jönköpings *län.* She was the editor of *Julkalendern, Korsblomman,* and *Barnens Vän.* Her first songs were published in 1858 in *Budbäraren.* She preferred to remain anonymous, so the editor, P. M. Elmblad, appended the initials "L. S.," and for more than forty years over this signature appeared winsome, appealing songs that brought comfort to thousands of homes in Sweden and America.[35]

The man who more than anyone else spread the message of the gospel contained in Lina Sandell's songs was Oscar Ahnfelt, who has been called the "spiritual troubadour." He not only set the songs to music, but his melodious voice, accompanied by his guitar, made the tunes familiar in thousands of places. Ahnfelt was a fine cultured man, who before his conversion had been a member of the Royal Opera at Stockholm. Before the advent of the railway, he traveled on his missionary tours in a fine cab drawn by two spirited horses driven by his own coachman. Ahnfelt sang Lina Sandell's songs with such feeling that those who heard him never forgot the occasion, and her songs were everywhere known as "Ahnfelt's songs." They became preeminently the songs of the *läsare,* and it is doubtful if there was a solitary child of the immigrants who could not sing "Tryggare kan ingen vara än Guds lilla barnaskara." "I heard Oscar Ahnfelt in my childhood" was a remark made time and again when "believers" gathered for their devotions. Ahnfelt's singing and preaching remained a life memory.[36] The appearance of *Pietisten, Lunds Missions-Tidning, Bibel-Wännen,* and Ahnfelt's songs inaugurated an epoch in the religious history of Sweden.

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[34] A study of the character, personality, doctrine, methods, and influence of Rosenius is found in Gustaf Brandt, *C. O. Rosenii förkunnelse. En studie i svensk lekmannapredikan,* Stockholm, 1918. The following works may be consulted with profit: Alarik Klefbeck, *Etiska ideer i svensk frikyrklig väckelsereligiositet,* Stockholm, 1928; Nordström, *De frikyrkliga och statskyrkoproblemet,* 54–60; and Johansson, *Ur minnet,* 129 ff. *Pietisten* was published between 1842 and 1868; between 1853 and 1865 about ten thousand copies were printed yearly; see Wadström, *Ur minnet och dagboken,* 1: 35. For reference to financial support from America see Westin, *George Scott och hans verksamhet i Sverige,* page 625, and the citations. From 1841 to 1863 Rosenius was in receipt of an annual stipend from the Foreign Evangelical Society, which in 1849 merged with the American and Foreign Christian Union. This financial assistance was granted through the influence of Robert Baird in America and George Scott in England. Rosenius sent his reports to Scott, who forwarded a translation of them to New York.

Mr. Westin has published the letters written in the years 1849 to 1863 in English under the title "Brev från C. O. Rosenius till America" (*Kyrkohistorisk årsskrift,* Uppsala, 1930, pp. 239–348). During his research in America Mr. Westin was unable to locate the reports before 1849; those after that date were presented originally in the *American and Foreign Christian Union,* and after 1859 in the *Christian World.*

[35] Wadström, *Ur minnet och dagboken,* 2: 347, 471: "Viola," "Hon har fått lön," *Vinterrosor,* Chicago, 1904, pp. 73–82.

Before 1860, however, Rosenius' name did not have the ring that it came to have later. He was looked upon as a heretic; and it often happened that if something from his pen was sent by mail a piece of paper would be pasted over his name, for fear the person to whom it was addressed would be afraid to read it on account of the heresy contained in it.[37] Rosenius and the *läsare* were persecuted as Scott had been. The pulpit, press, and theater joined in persecuting and ridiculing them.[38] The following extract from a letter from Rosenius to Scott, written in 1851, is illuminating:

> Simultaneously with the beginning of the work of the inner mission Jenny Lind came to Sweden. . . . Imagine the sensation when the great "Diana of the Ephesians" not only positively refused to appear on the stage, but on several occasions publicly stated her astonishment at the ungodliness of her fatherland and joined the despised *läsare,* listening not only to the sermons of Wieselgren and Fjellstedt, but attending the conventicles of Rosenius. She also visited me, and I visited her. Fire was kindled in every house; nearly all the newspapers sputtered; everything was done to arouse

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[36] Sigfrid Laurin, *Oscar Ahnfelt. En psykologisk studie,* Stockholm, 1925; Skogsbergh, *Minnen,* 91. Ahnfelt received financial support from the American and Foreign Christian Union. Rosenius devoted a portion of each of his reports to Ahnfelt's missionary work. See note 34, page 40.

[37] Johansson, *Ur minnet,* 57.

[38] Brandt, *Rosenii förkunnelse,* 21–22; Wadström, *Ur minnet och dagboken,* 1: 136–142.

> enmity towards the *läsare* who had proposed inner mission activity and had caught the golden bird Jenny Lind. Every week the papers gave me publicity and printed the most absurd things about our meetings. A play entitled the *Läsare Pastor* was presented on the stage. Our weak flesh trembled; we expected to be stoned. . . . Ahnfelt likewise was pictured in the press as one of the most dangerous in the lot . . . and when he visited Uppsala and the surrounding congregations, great disorder immediately followed in the large university city.[39]

The people who gathered to hear Rosenius' sermons about "free grace" and the "sweet gospel" were not the sort to be dispersed by threats and ridicule, and for the hundreds who heard him, thousands read his Family Prayer Book. In Swedish homes in America many a boy, at the admonition of his father or mother, read in the presence of the family each night the portion in the "Rosenius book" appropriate to the day. And volumes of *Pietisten* were to be seen in homes where tables and shelves were bare of books other than the Bible.

One of the clearest proofs that the evangelical revival was deeply rooted is the fact that even in the very early stages periodicals were established and organizations were formed. In 1832 Scott became the representative of the British and Foreign Bible Society at Stockholm, and two years later the Swedish Missionary Society was organized. In these years both British and American influence was in evidence, as we have seen. In 1853 James Lumsden of the Scottish Free church visited Sweden and made contacts with prominent men in the state church as well as with the *läsare*. In a brief book published shortly after his return he presented a very gloomy picture of the religious state of the country, but the activity of the *läsare* made him hopeful of the future.[40] In 1853 Scott's chapel at the Haymarket was reopened for "free" services, and thereafter the voice of Rosenius was often heard from its pulpit. When communication between Sweden and the United States became more common, the influence of Swedish sailors and Swedish visitors to America increased. P. A. Siljeström, one of the founders of the folk schools, on his return from the

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[39] Laurin, *Ahnfelt*, 96–97.

[40] Lumsden, *Sweden: Its Religious State and Prospects.*

United States in the early fifties not only expressed great enthusiasm for the American educational system, political organization, and legislation but in public lectures praised religious conditions, stating that public opinion was Christian and that the Sabbath was kept holy.[41] A hostile witness reported to a newspaper the account of a conventicle at which a man who was called the "American sailor" began to preach. He ranted and raved and preached fire and brimstone, and the people fell on their knees amid much wailing. The sailor, he said, had recently returned from America, where he had learned to go from house to house to visit the sick and to induce women to pray with him.[42] Another sailor, who had sailed to and from America for ten years, in speaking at a meeting called to further the cause of religious freedom, said that in America freedom meant the right to read the Word of God, whereas in Sweden this privilege was denied. People were allowed to hold religious meetings on the streets, and he had witnessed the arrest of a group of drunken Irish who had attempted to break up such a meeting in New York.[43] The increasing number of "America letters" were loud in praise of a country where there was no *konventikelplakat,* where the ministers went about doing good, where it was an everyday occurrence to see "common men" witness for the truth, and where for the first time the emigrants had experienced the true joy the gospel imparts.

The *läsare* understood that one of the great obstacles to their activity was the *konventikelplakat,* and as a step toward its repeal the Society for the Advancement of Religious Freedom was organized at Stockholm in 1851. In the same year a paper with the title *Evangelisk Kyrkowän* was established at Sölvesborg, in the columns of which the learned and gifted editor, Hans Birger Hammar, a pastor in the state church, fearlessly advocated the establishment of absolute religious liberty; he believed that restriction hampered the development of a healthy spiritual life and that persecution poured oil on the fire of dissent. He was equally direct in advocating the admission of the laity into greater activity.[44] Hammar died in 1862 at the early age of forty-seven, but he lived to see the hated *konventikelplakat* modified to an extent that promised unconditional repeal in the future. Hammar was one of several pastors in Skåne who in 1848 organized at Vinslöf a society to promote the discussion of problems related to their calling. There were several distinguished names on the roll of this organization, including that of Tuve Nilsson Hasselquist, who became the greatest personality in the Augustana Synod, and C. Bergman, the "radical at Vinslöf." No one was more outspoken than the latter in laying bare the shortcomings of the established church and in advocating changes that would have revolutionized the entire ecclesiastical system. In 1858 he published a book on the religious revival in the United States, consisting largely of translations from American newspapers.[45] Laymen took part in their meetings, among them Oscar Ahnfelt. It was from this more or less formal organization that the Kristianstad Tract Society developed in 1855. At the meetings the discussions centered around such topics as how colporteurs should be commissioned, whether effort should be devoted to the disestablishment of the church or to its resuscitation, and why so many serious-minded pastors held aloof from their society.[46]

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[41] P. A. Siljeström, *Resa i Förenta Staterna,* 2 vols., Stockholm, 1852, 1854; *Aftonbladet,* June 25, 1853.

[42] *Norrlands-Posten,* August 28, 1856.

[43] *Aftonbladet,* June 25, 1853.

In 1853 a branch of the Evangelical Alliance was established at Stockholm, and very soon colporteurs were sent out. The literature they disseminated and the speeches they made were to be unsectarian, even though some of them were known to have Baptist leanings. At first all went well, but the Baptists could not repress their convictions and secretly sold Baptist literature. The result was that the Lutherans withdrew their support, the confidence of the people was lost, and within a short time the Alliance died.[47]

Despite this discouraging beginning at cooperation and union, the idea did not perish. Most ardent for the cause were Fjellstedt, Count Lewenhaupt, and Baron Alströmer. In the

[44] *Evangelisk Kyrkowän*, April 7, 1852, February 15, 1854, March 14, 1855.

[45] C. Bergman, *Om den andeliga wäckelsen i Norra Amerikas fristater år 1858*, Kristianstad, 1858.

[46] *Minnesskrift till Kristianstads traktatsällskaps femtioårsjubileum, 1885–1905*, Kristianstad, 1904.

[47] Wadström, *Ur minnet och dagboken*, 1: 245–250.

spring of 1855, not long after the organization of the Kristianstad Tract Society, Count Lewenhaupt called a meeting at which Fjellstedt made a most revolutionary speech. He proposed that in view of the fact that leaders in the church actually persecuted the true followers of Jesus, the "believers" should establish a free Lutheran church, patterned after the newly founded Scottish Free church, which was also the ideal of Hammar. This proposal, however, was too radical for Rosenius, who believed that more would be lost than gained by such a direct attack on an institution that was so strongly intrenched and deeply rooted in the minds of the people. In the fall, upon the invitation of James Lumsden, Hans Jacob Lundborg, a young man from Västerås diocese, went to study the situation in Scotland. Upon his return in the spring of 1856, he formulated a plan for a foundation that would be free but would remain within the bosom of the church. Lundborg's plan proved to be acceptable, and on May 7, 1856, *Evangeliska Fosterlandsstiftelsen* was organized. This society, which we may call the National Evangelical Foundation, published and distributed devotional literature by means of colporteurs and sent out popular speakers. The hope of the founders was that it would be a leaven in the church and that its agents would work in cooperation with "believing" pastors.[48] At the first annual meeting the secretary reported that 390,000 pieces of literature had been published and that over 150,000 copies of literature not printed by the foundation had been distributed in addition to Bibles and New Testaments.[49]

One of the founders and most active members was B. Wadström, who was the first secretary and editor of *Budbäraren,* the official organ. He was a pietistic and liberal man, with a genius for making personal contacts with men and women in all walks of life, without regard to their doctrinal or theological views. The fact that in his old age he read the burial service over the remains of Johannes Palmquist, a Baptist leader, shows that his Christianity was not hedged by denominational boundaries.[50]

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[48] Wadström, *Ur minnet och dagboken,* 1:251–254.

[49] Wadström, *Ur minnet och dagboken,* 2:5–6.

[50] T. Truvé, *Det gamla vittnet. Några minnesvärda drag ur Johannes Palmquists lif och verksamhet till största delen efter hans egenhändiga anteckningar. Med några fullständiga tillägg efter olika källor af A. Drake,* Stockholm, 1902, p. 165.

The circulation of *Budbäraren* mounted rapidly, reaching about 14,000 in 1864.[51] In the decade of the seventies it was succeeded by *Nya Posten.* The Swedish-American religious papers lifted much material from these organs, and after the schism between the state church and the Mission Covenant the Mission Friend papers in America, *Zions Banér* and *Chicago-Bladet,* found much in their columns to confound the more conservative Augustana Synod papers, which were not then so enthusiastic about laymen's activity as formerly.

Although some pastors and even bishops — Johan Henrik Thomander, for instance — were not opposed to ministers' participation in the management of organizations directing the activity of the laity, Archbishop Reuterdahl, a conservative of the conservatives, was bitterly opposed to the foundation and for three years refused to ordain Wadström. The ministers with Schartaun leanings were suspicious of the colporteurs because of their alleged un-Lutheran preaching, and they in turn sometimes attacked the ministers and circulated petitions in favor of religious liberty.[52] A certain colporteur traveling in Västmanland, Närke, Värmland, and Dalarna was called before the crown official and ordered to leave the parish, in spite of the fact that he was in possession of a pass; he was told that the pass entitled him to travel, not to preach.[53] With the growth of separatism in Sweden the feeling between the state church and the colporteurs grew more intense. In a sense there were two classes of preachers in the church, and there was little cooperation between them in many instances. It is true that some of the tracts were not in harmony with the teachings of the church.[54] There was an increasing number of persons who thought that those who lived lives of sinfulness should not be admitted to the Lord's table, and for this reason some of the "believers" partook of the sacrament separately, the rite being administered by certain pastors who stood in close relation to the evangelical foundation. When these ministers incurred the displeasure of the cathedral chapter, "communion societies" were organized and laymen officiated. These societies in turn sent out colporteurs, and thus the confusion became greater.[55] With the introduction of railways the stations became folk centers; with the growth of industrialism, which began to be of some importance as early as the fifties, the people became more concentrated; these conditions were conducive to religious agitation.

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[51] Wadström, *Ur minnet och dagboken,* 1: 265–272.

[52] Article on religious conditions in Sweden, in *Hemlandet,* June 3, 1857.

[53] G. E. Beskow, "Minnen från en predikoresa, 1857," *Vintersol,* 1899, pp. 145–151.

[54] Wadström, *Ur minnet och dagboken,* 1: 378 ff.; *Sändebudet,* Uppsala, September, 1872; C. A. Cornelius, *Svenska kyrkans historia efter reformationen,* Uppsala, 1886, 1: 276–278.

The attitude of the strait-laced parish pastors at the beginning of the seventies, when Sweden stood on the brink of a great schism, is revealed in a treatise by a minister in the church.[56] Conscious of the fact that thousands were looking to America as the model for religious, social, and political institutions, he took his cue from them and cited instances when a free-church system had led to ecclesiastical anarchy. A case in point was the dismissal of its pastor by a Norwegian Lutheran church in Chicago, an inevitable result of lay preaching and the kind of work carried on by the evangelical foundation. "May we be delivered from this sort of freedom!" was his fervent prayer.[57] With regard to the Augustana Synod he quoted Erik Norelius, one of the pioneer Swedish-American pastors, to show that the synod regarded lay preaching as permissible only in cases of necessity.[58] When necessity demanded, it employed theological students and school teachers, but it did not approve of laymen's activity apart from the church. On the other hand, in the absence of the pastor the deacons were bound by the constitution of the congregation to lead the services, and provision was made for disciplining schismatic laymen.[59] If the state was to be something more than an institution to punish crime, if it was to be an agency of Christian culture, argued the state church folk, it must see to it that all its citizens had the advantage of a Christian training. The disestablishment of the church would work such a revolution that people would shudder at the results. They maintained that those who held up the United States as a model forgot that many regarded the religious situation in that country as deplorable. They pointed to the Perfectionists and Mormons, who furnished a great problem for the government, and they predicted a conflict sooner or later between the Catholics and the state.[60]

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[55] Nordström, *De frikyrkliga och statskyrkoproblemet,* 40.

[56] P. Pettersson, *Läseriet, dess egendomligheter, orsaker och werkningar samt huru det bör bemötas. Försök till belysning för kyrkans wänner,* Falun, 1870.

[57] Pettersson, *Läseriet,* 82.

[58] E. Norelius, *Ev. lutherska Augustana-synoden i Nord-Amerika och dess mission,* Lund, 1870, pp. 41–42.

[59] Pettersson, *Läseriet,* 144–146.

Whether their members desired it or not, it is evident that the organization of the National Evangelical Foundation and a host of missionary societies led straight to separatism. In Småland, for example, where the Mission Friends were evangelical to the highest degree, the "believers" cared little for congregational organization, whereas in Värmland the "believers" did organize congregations.[61] It was this fear of the "letter that killeth" that made the *läsare* obnoxious to the high-church people and caused them to look askance at the Augustana Synod and anything that suggested America, the land of sects, a godless land that in its ignorance of the Word of God had dispensed with so many things dear to the man who elevated forms and ceremonies and ecclesiastical regulations above spontaneity. It was the old story of the Anabaptists at Wittenberg, who opposed Luther and looked with suspicion and disgust upon ponderous tomes of theological lore. The *läsare* in time came to count among their numbers men and women whose conception of the church was that of a body of believers who were regenerated by the Spirit; from this it followed that there should be no connection between church and state. There was no reconciling this view with the teachings of the state church, inextricably intertwined with temporal authority, administered by vestrymen who were strangers in many instances to repentance and grace and who made little or no attempt to discriminate between regenerate and unregenerate. But it was the view held by many leaders in the Augustana Synod and without exception by all the leaders in the reformed Swedish-American churches. Furthermore, the dissenters and lay preachers were accused of infecting the entire country with the "America fever," and many of the hated emigration agents were free-church people.

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[60] Pettersson, *Läseriet,* 129–132.

[61] Skogsbergh, *Minnen,* 237.

CHAPTER IV

ERIC-JANSONISM AND THE BISHOP HILL COLONY

IN THE preceding pages we have seen how a new religious spirit — a second reformation — had its inception at the dawn of the decade of the forties and spread with such swiftness that by the middle of the next decade it had become firmly established and thereafter was borne on the wings of organizations whose messengers distributed tracts and preached sermons in almost every parish. Strangely enough, a most radical and revolutionary movement ran its course and perished in Norrland in the fourth decade, although the effects of it were visible for some years. This movement is interesting in itself, but its real significance lies chiefly in the fact that it reveals the psychology of a certain element in the population of Sweden and that it was one of the excesses of a nation-wide religious movement. Just as the Lutheran Reformation in Germany had its Thomas Münzer to contend with, so did the *läsare* movement have its Eric Janson. Rosenius, the gentle reformer who remained within the church to renovate it, a man less outspoken, more conciliatory, than Luther, who hurled epithets at the Anabaptists and the "murderous and thieving peasants," was a sharp critic of Eric-Jansonism and Mormonism and was not afraid to taunt the Baptist apostles in their presence with the assertion that they were Eric-Jansonists.[1] Jansonism was undoubtedly a symptom of disorder in the ecclesiastical body, but the laws and regulations and conditions that some people believe are inherent in a state church system in this instance are partly responsible for its rise.

It cannot be denied that Jansonism and all its excesses, terminating finally in the emigration of a colony to the New Jerusalem on the prairies of Henry County, Illinois, is a phenomenon worthy of study; and the historian who surveys the field cannot shirk the duty of recording that, for the most part, the same causes that produced an Eric Janson and gave him followers fired other men of poise and balance to strive and hope for a new day. Janson carried his doctrine and ecclesiastical polity in the meshes of a crude language to a populace characterized by a self-confidence and a reserve that veneered an eccentric and violent temperament. When he appeared as a preacher of righteousness, the people of Hälsingland were addicted to drunkenness, which inflamed the passions to fighting, stealing, and crimes of violence, and they were cursed with too many pastors who took their duties lightly and who were intemperate and too much occupied with secular affairs.[2] It was a time when a man seriously concerned with the salvation of his own soul and the souls of his fellow men had difficulty in restraining himself.

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[1] Brandt, *Rosenii förkunnelse*, 25.

Even in this generation it is difficult to write dispassionately about Eric Janson. His name is associated with demagogism, fraud, deception, divided families, tragic leave-takings, disappointment, intense suffering, litigation, murder, and other tragedies. Much of this sorrow — perhaps all of it — might have been prevented if love instead of hate, sympathy instead of persecution, and kind words instead of abuse had followed his footsteps. His persecutors gave him the martyr's crown, and his followers migrated to America with the resignation of martyrs.[3]

Eric Janson's character was not above reproach, but in the earlier stages of his religious activity he was undoubtedly an upright man. Ignorance and an overweening self-confidence, combined with stupid persecution, drove him to absurd extremes.[4] Nevertheless, from the very first he and his friends were charged with crimes that were also attributed to *läsare,* who were as harmless as doves and without the wisdom of serpents — crimes such as adultery, thievery, disturbing the peace. Janson could not tolerate criticism, and his prodigious memory enabled him to overwhelm his enemies with a torrent of scriptural passages that was very convincing. He could talk for hours; he was easily moved to tears, clever and sophistic in interpreting the Scriptures, and a good debater, with a gift for picturesque and powerful expression. He had an almost hypnotic influence, and more than one enemy became a follower when the prophet took him by the hand and fixed his eyes upon him.[5]

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[2] Emil Herlenius, *Erik-Jansismens historia,* Jönköping, 1900, pp. 1–2.

[3] Letter from Stockholm to *Jönköpings-Bladet,* in *Norrlands-Posten,* July 28, 1846. There were many items and letters, a number from America, in *Norrlands-Posten,* the editor of which was an ardent advocate of religious liberty and sympathized with the aspirations of emigrants, though at the same time he opposed Jansonism. However, he had no more admiration for the persecutors of the prophet than he had for the object of their spleen.

[4] Examples of Janson's literary attainments may be seen in letters printed in *Helsi,* Söderhamn, January 23, 1850, and in E. W. Olson, "Relikvarium. Fornt och färskt ur vår Amerikahistoria," *Ungdomsvännen,* Rock Island, January, 1917, pp. 16–18. The spelling is bad, and the documents bear the marks of an inexperienced writer.

The prophet was born on December 19, 1808, in the parish of Biskopskulla (Bishop Hill), not a great distance from Uppsala. His parents were peasants who gave the impression of being proud and matter-of-fact. His love of solitude and his introspective nature set him apart from other boys, although in spite of poor health his lot was the same as befell the other youths — that of hard work. In the summer of 1830 he experienced a miraculous conversion, and for four years thereafter he read religious writings, wrote verses, and preached, while he continued to till the soil. Then he stopped preaching for a time. In the meantime he married a religiously inclined woman, proved himself industrious and capable of managing well, and in 1838 purchased a farm in Österunda parish. All the while he had been reading about and discussing religion.[6]

On the first day of October, 1840, Eric Janson and his youngest brother made a trip to the market at Uppsala to sell cattle. The serious-minded farmer was shocked at the conduct of the people who patronized the market, and he was more than ever convinced that it was his mission to preach repentance. Upon his return to Österunda he consulted with the vice curate, J. J. Risberg, a consecrated and sympathetic man, who encouraged him to resume preaching. A warm friendship developed between the two men, and they cooperated in leading

[5] S. Andersson, "Något om Erik Jansismen, särskilt dess verksamhet i Alfta," *Julhälsning till församlingarna i ärkestiftet,* 1923, pp. 95–100.

[6] Herlenius, *Erik-Jansismen,* 7–11.

conventicles.[7] Risberg's confidence in Janson brought him into difficulties with the ecclesiastical authorities, however, and he was transferred to another charge. His successor, C. C. Estenberg, had no fault to find with Janson in the beginning but later became his bitter enemy, probably because his erstwhile friend abandoned the Lutheran doctrine. Gradually Janson accepted the tenet that through faith in Christ a person is freed not only from the consequences of sin but from sin itself, that is, a converted person has no sin, because Christ has taken away all sin. He thus obliterated the Lutheran line of demarcation between justification and sanctification and skirted the periphery of Methodism. This new wine of faith was imbibed by many who found it much more palatable than the gloomy teachings of a certain school of *läsare,* according to which the soul was in constant danger of falling into the abyss of damnation.

In January, 1843, shortly after Janson had clarified his mind on this doctrinal point, he made a journey to Hälsingland ostensibly to sell flour, but actually to reconnoiter a new field for the propagation of his faith, now that he was being hounded by the pastors in his own parish. From a religious point of view, Hälsingland was a burnt-over area that had been swept by successive fires of Herrnhutism and pietism, but a greater holocaust was yet to come. On his way through Söderala parish he spent a night in the home of Jonas Olson, an incident pregnant with great experiences not only for the two men but for hundreds of others. Olson was Janson's senior by six years, but nevertheless the younger man made a strong impression upon him. Jonas and his brother Olof were leaders among the "new readers," who represented a reaction against the gloomy theology of the "old readers." Jonas had made yearly visits to Stockholm to sell fish and had fallen under the spell of George Scott's sermons in the chapel at the Haymarket. Although he had not become a Methodist — Scott did not advocate separatism — he accepted most of its tenets and was inspired to preach the gospel not only to the people of Söderala but also to the inhabitants of Mo, Bollnäs, Alfta, Ovanåker, Voxna, Forsa, and other parishes in Hälsingland.[8]

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[7] Herlenius, *Erik-Jansismen,* 11–12; Anna Söderblom, "Läsare och Amerikafarare på 1840-talet," *Julhelg,* Stockholm, 1925, pp. 80–93. Mrs. Söderblom, wife of the late archbishop of Sweden, has written a sympathetic and scholarly account of the Jansonists and the misfortunes that befell them. She has made a judicious selection of documents in the Anna Lindewall Collection in the archives in the castle at Uppsala. These documents consist of (1) a 166-page manuscript account of the *läsare* and the Jansonists in Österunda in the years from 1843 to 1846, written by J. E. Ekblom, the district bailiff, whose office compelled him reluctantly to institute legal action against the Jansonists, and pertinent legal documents such as extracts from the court records; (2) letters written to him from Bishop Hill, Illinois, from 1867 to 1872 about conditions and life in the colony; and (3) clippings from American newspapers pertaining to the litigation that finally resulted in the dissolution of the colony. The last document is dated 1881. It appears that the Jansonists never forgot the kindness shown them by Ekblom and willingly responded to his requests for data for his history, which has never been printed.

Janson made four trips to Hälsingland and finally decided to cast his lot with the people of that province; in April, 1844, he moved his residence to Forsa, well up to the north. We have seen that separatism had already manifested itself in Norrland in opposition to the new books adopted by the state church, and within a few months people calling themselves Eric-Jansonists were to be found in several parts of the northern region, including Dalarna, but they were most numerous in Hälsingland. Janson knew before he moved to Forsa that his followers had been publicly reminded of the provisions of the *konventikelplakat,* but this did not prevent him from flouting the authorities. His adherents were encouraged to set themselves apart as a sect and were forbidden to attend services in the state church. The leader repudiated the devotional books that formerly were dear to him; he called himself a prophet, had revelations, performed miracles, and cast out devils.

Although some people seized the opportunity to discredit the whole *läsare* movement by identifying it with Jansonism, there was a wide difference between them.[9] For one thing, the Jansonists held their services at the same hour of worship as did the state church. They were far more aggressive, fought back, and brought suits and countercharges against their persecutors, even against the pastors.[10] Moreover, it was just the devotional books that, next to the Bible, the *läsare* held most dear—Luther's, Linderoth's, and Nohrborg's books of sermons and Arndt's *True Christianity*—that Eric Janson condemned. The *läsare* preachers emphasized daily repentance and growth in grace over against the perfectionist doctrine of the prophet.[11]

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[8] Herlenius, *Erik-Jansismen,* 4–5, 13–17. Scott had also visited Norrland.

[9] Communication to *Norrlands-Posten,* June 28, 1844.

[10] At a conventicle in the home of O. Bäck in Bollnäs an officer of the law entered and, singling out Eric Janson, asked, "Are you Eric Janson?" "Yes," was the reply. "You are under arrest," said the officer. The giant form of Jonas Olson arose, advanced, and, pushing the officer and his posse toward the door, said: "We will take care of Eric Janson; you had better leave this place, or else take the consequences." Janson was not arrested. B. G. Jonzon, *Blad ur Bollnäs församlings kyrkohistoria,* Uppsala, 1899, p. 182.

Janson and his disciples in the years to come could look back to the eleventh of June, 1844, as the day that marked the inauguration of two years of strife with the officers of the law, although even previous to that date they had experienced having their meetings disturbed and their homes raided. On the morning of that June day the perfectionists from Alfta, Söderala, Ovanåker, and Bollnäs gathered on the shore of a lake in Alfta parish, where for some days they had been depositing copies of the hated devotional books. At the appointed time a bonfire was kindled, and the books were given to the flames. The prophet proclaimed: "Satan held a jubilee when Luther's writings appeared; he will have a tearful session when they are consumed."

This act of defiance landed the prophet in jail. After a period of incarceration he was released on the condition that he would not visit any parish in Gävleborgs *län*. But the prophet was not to be silenced; he traveled from place to place, followed by people who believed they were in the presence of the Messiah. At their meetings the "History of the Passion of Eric Janson" was read—a highly colored account of his experiences subsequent to his arrest at Alfta and release at Västerås.[12]

Events now moved rapidly. The prophet was threatened repeatedly and several times arrested; Jansonist meetings were broken up; and mob violence got in its work. At a meeting at Stenbo, near Forsa, on June 25, 1845, a number of Jansonists assembled in the home of a respectable citizen for a session of prayer. The officer of the law summoned a posse and commanded them to disperse; subsequently he gave them permission to continue their prayers on condition that they be dispersed on his return three hours later. Returning at the stated time, the officer found that his order had not been obeyed and that there was no intention of obeying it, whereupon he left the scene. Then a quarrel, followed by a fight, ensued between the believers and their enemies. One man was badly slashed, windows were shattered, doors broken, and the Jansonists driven out. In fleeing, Janson's wife was caught in the trapdoor of a barn and while in this predicament was espied by some boys, who administered a sound whipping.[13]

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[11] Communication to *Norrlands-Posten*, June 28, 1844. A short summary of the Jansonist faith is given in Herlenius, *Erik-Jansismen*, 103–115.

[12] Correspondence to *Norrlands-Posten*, November 11, 1844.

Ugly stories about the prophet's relations with women were circulated; his followers were accused of lying, stealing, inciting insurrection, and transgressing the seventh commandment; fines accumulated; and they were compelled to undertake long and expensive journeys to answer charges at the bar of justice. A complaint lodged against them by a curate summarized their transgressions as follows: "Peacefulness, reason, virtue, innocence, and modesty have departed from them; hatred, tumult, and lewdness rule their hearts."[14]

Fearful of losing his life, the prophet went into hiding. Sweden got so hot that extreme measures had to be taken to preserve the Jansonist faith. America, so eloquently described as the land of religious liberty in the "America letters" that had already appeared in the newspapers of Sweden, offered a refuge for the oppressed. They would go to the heathen, since the inhabitants of the fatherland would not accept the truth. The prophet took up his pen in his "Wartburg," the printing press was set in motion, and within a few months appeared a catechism, a "farewell address," and a "farewell hymn" of eight stanzas.[15]

All the pent-up bitterness in the heart of Eric Janson seems to have been poured into the "farewell address to all of Sweden's inhabitants who have rejected me, whom Jesus has sent, or who have rejected the name of Eric Janson." The author declares that he will not cast pearls before swine nor give that which is holy to the dogs. To those who condemn his going

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[13] News item from Hudiksvall, in *Bihang till Östgötha Correspondenten*, July 26, 1845.

[14] *Utdrag af Domstolen, hållen å Lagtima Winter Tinget ned Thorstuna Härad i Tingshuset wid Carleby den 20 feb. 1846*, MS in *Landsarkivet* in Uppsala Castle.

[15] *Förklaring öfver den Heliga Skrift, eller Cateces. Författad i frågor och svar*, Söderhamn, 1846; *Afskedstal, till all Sweriges innewånare, som föraktadt mig, den som Jesus hafwer sändt; eller förkastat det namnet Erik Jansson*, Söderala, 1846; *Några sånger samt böner*, Söderhamn, 1846. See *Norrlands-Posten*, June 5, 1846.

> to America he says that He who has given him a tongue and voice is powerful enough to give him the gift of speaking many tongues in a foreign land. The people of Sweden will be destroyed, and they will learn that a prophet was among them.
>
> Merciful God, open the eyes of Sweden's king that he may see how the devilish teachings of the clergy bring their hearers to the damnation of hell. O, Lord of all, lend to the government light to see the darkness that enshrouds the earth, as related in Isaiah 60, and to see that the devil's preachers have caused darkness to descend over a whole people. . . . Farewell, Sweden's princes and powers that be, who soon enough, as recorded in God's Word, will bite your tongues because of the woe that will overtake you. Farewell, ye ravenous wolves, who have brought Sweden's people to the unfortunate state that they must pay several thousand *riksdaler* to those who reject and banish those who have been faithful to God's commandments. . . . But peace be unto those who have received and do receive him in the name of a prophet.

The exodus of the Jansonists beginning in the summer of 1846 was not a hit-or-miss affair. The previous year Olof Olson, his wife and two children, and two others had gone to America to "view the land," like the Hebrews of old.[16] As for the prophet, reports were abroad that from his hiding place in Dalarna he had made his way on skis over the Norwegian frontier dressed in the garb of a woman and further disguised by the extraction of two prominent front teeth, which had given him a "hideous appearance."[17] At Oslo he waited for his wife and three children and a few others before embarking for New York via Copenhagen, Hamburg, Hull, and Liverpool. In the meantime optimistic letters from Olof Olson heightened the "America fever," and soon the newspapers were sprinkled with items about the departure of Jansonists from their native parishes. At New York Olson had the benefit of the advice of Olof Gustaf Hedström, the well-beloved missionary of the Bethel ship and the good Samaritan of thousands of his countrymen, whose first step on American soil had been taken in the port of New York. Followed by the prayers and the benediction of the missionary, Olson and his party steered their course westward and arrived at Victoria, Knox County, Illinois, where they were received by Jonas Hedström, the brother of the New York missionary.[18]

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[16] A news item from Gävle, in *Östgötha Correspondenten,* October 4, 1845, stated that one of Eric Janson's most faithful apostles and his wife and children had embarked for America on the brig "Neptune," with the expectation that a couple of hundred of his fellow believers would follow his example.

[17] Item from Falun (April 9), in *Upsala,* April 17, 1846. Mrs. Anna Söderblom relates that on her visit to America in 1923 she saw a painted fabric that had hung from the ceiling of the room in Dalarna where Janson spent his last night in Sweden before crossing the frontier. When the cottage was torn down, over a half century later, the fabric was sent to America. Anna Söderblom, *En Amerikabok,* Stockholm,

The departure of the Jansonists occasioned much comment in the newspapers, usually unfavorable. There were editors, however, who recognized that the exodus signified far more than the insane resolution of a handful of fanatics. One fair-minded and liberal editor admitted that there was a distinction between the true *läsare* and the false, but he believed that to a certain extent the *läsare* movement had played into the hands of the Jansonists. He placed the blame for the tumult squarely on the intolerance of Sweden, and he pointed out that, since America had religious freedom, the Jansonists regarded it as the Promised Land. He also paid his respects to the political institutions of his country as a cause for emigration. Many of the emigrants do not clearly understand what the specific evils are, he wrote, but they feel their economic depression, their low spirits, the heavy and unequal taxes, and the unjust system of representation.

> They have heard that there is a land where one may worship according to the dictates of his conscience and also that it is a land of political freedom, where political rights are not based on caste, where the individual is respected, where the law recognizes the rich and the poor as equals. Is it to be wondered at that they tear themselves from a land that has dealt thus with them to go to a land flowing with milk and honey, perhaps greatly exaggerated in their imagination? . . . May Sweden's lawgivers, no less than the servants of the church, find in the Eric-Jansonist movement a reason for giving to its inhabitants happiness and comforts, without making it necessary for them to leave the fatherland.[19]

1925, p. 182. This book includes a fascinating and sympathetic chapter on the Bishop Hill colony.

[18] Eric Johnson and C. F. Peterson, *Svenskarne i Illinois. Historiska anteckningar,* Chicago, 1880, p. 27. One of the authors, Captain Johnson, is the son of Eric Janson. The chapter on the Bishop Hill colony (pages 22–54) draws liberally on the recollections of Captain Johnson and of pioneers.

[19] *Norrlands-Posten,* August 4, 1846.

The editor sensed what the historian sees clearly proved—that Sweden was saddled with an archaic political and ecclesiastical system, which bred separatism, dissension, strife, tumult, mass meetings, pietism, and agnosticism and magnified America in the minds of thousands of her sons and daughters as the "Land of Canaan," where there were not only material blessings but where churches, society, laws, and customs were incentives to a closer walk with God.

Unexpected difficulties in obtaining passports and vessels did not dim the fire in the eyes of the Jansonists. A deputation went to Stockholm to place the matter before the king.[20] Real estate, personal property, and the products of home sloyd were sold, sometimes at a sacrifice, and the money was thrown into a common treasury; this was drawn upon to purchase the release of soldiers, to pay the debts of individuals, and to buy transportation and provisions for the voyage. Four persons, called princes, were appointed to administer the common fund.[21] In June, 1846, the great exodus began, and many parishes were scenes of heartbreaking leave-takings. In the church books one may still read columns of names of persons to whom permits to emigrate were issued. Families were separated, husbands deserted wives, and wives husbands, minor children left parents, and servants their masters. Some of them did not get far. Two women who went to Gothenburg regretted their decision and walked back to Alfta, begging their bread and lodging.[22] When a certain young *bonde* from Forsa learned, upon his arrival at Hudiksvall with a cartload of lumber, that during his absence his wife had left by boat for Stockholm with a party of Jansonists, he journeyed to the capital at once, dressed as he was, borrowing money along the way to hire horses. On his arrival there he found that the party had not yet gone on board ship but were lodged at a hotel in the section called the "city between the bridges." Here he found his wife sitting at a table. He went to her and said simply, "Won't you go back home with me, Brita?" "Yes," was the reply. Nothing more was ever said about the episode, although they lived together for many years.[23]

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[20] *Norrlands-Posten,* May 26, 1846.

[21] Herlenius, *Erik-Jansismen,* 59–60.

[22] Andersson, "Något om Erik-Jansismen," *Julhälsning till församlingarna i ärkestiftet,* 1923, pp. 96–97.

As the parties passed through certain places en route to the ports of embarkation — Stockholm, Söderhamn, Gothenburg, Oslo, and especially Gävle — they were often stoned and hooted.[24] One rumor had it that before they departed for America they were to sacrifice the life of a child. A man who talked with a party of emigrants sailing from Stockholm reported that they had the stamp of ignorance on their faces, the horrible fire of fanaticism in their eyes, and an air of calm resignation by which they tried to convince the world that they had found peace.[25] After the names of the emigrants recorded in the church books one finds comments similar to the following: *läsare,* "bad character," "a reviler of the church and clergy," "*läsare,* burner of books, reviler of the Lutheran doctrine," "condemned to do public penance for disturbing church services," "depraved, tore up catechism," "demented by Eric-Jansonism."[26]

The tragic story of the transatlantic voyage that brought fifteen hundred disciples of Eric Janson to the United States, chiefly during the years from 1846 to 1848, and practically cleaned Sweden of the adherents of his cult is too long to be told in detail here.[27] Each ship had an appointed leader vested with supreme authority. One ship was lost with all on board; two others were wrecked, though all lives were spared; many died of cholera or other diseases. Probably none of the martyrs had had any idea of the hardships and length of the voyage, and short rations of food and water fell to the lot of many.[28] One ship freighted with iron added a hundred and fifty passengers to the cargo. Under the deck were installed two tiers of bunks, thirty in all, each seven feet wide and "accommodating" five persons, who slept on straw. Even sluggish minds can imagine what the conditions must have been when the seas ran high and pestilence stalked.[29] The horrors of it all were brought home to the people of Sweden when letters from the emigrants were published in the newspapers. One writer reported that his party landed at New York on March 17, 1847, after a voyage of five months. Here they were met by appointed agents who brought them to another party of two hundred. Within two weeks fourteen died as the result of the miserable food and lodgings.[30]

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[23] Söderblom, *En Amerikabok,* 182–183.

[24] Herlenius, *Erik-Jansismen,* 60–62; *Norrlands-Posten,* July 10, 1846; *Upsala,* June 5, 1846.

[25] Letter from Stockholm to *Jönköpings-Bladet,* cited in *Norrlands-Posten,* July 24, 1846.

[26] *Julhelg,* 1925, p. 86.

[27] Herlenius, *Erik-Jansismen,* 63. Estimates as to the number of emigrants vary, and of course not all of them went to Bishop Hill. One author states that a thousand able-bodied immigrants came to Henry County when the entire population was only four times that number. M. A. Mikkelsen, "The Bishop Hill Colony," *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science,* Baltimore, 1892, 10: 5.

[28] Herlenius, *Erik-Jansismen,* 62.

Letters from America to relatives and friends in the Norrland parishes from which the Jansonists departed must have aggregated hundreds, a considerable number of which were printed in the newspapers. Some of them were warnings against countrymen who returned to recruit members for the theocratic communistic state at Bishop Hill; in these, local conditions and the prophet were painted in the darkest colors. Others, on the other hand, accepted everything the "bishop" — a title Janson appropriated to himself in America — said and did in the New Jerusalem with the same blind confidence they had shown in Sweden, regardless of the stories that were told about him. From the summer of 1846 to May, 1850, Eric Janson was the directing genius of the colony, and naturally his character was the theme of many letters.

After a residence of three months in the New Jerusalem one faithful disciple was

> moved by the Holy Ghost to bear witness to the things I have seen, heard, and experienced. We had a pleasant voyage . . . and I was not affected in the least with seasickness. . . . My words are inadequate to describe with what joy we are permitted daily to draw water from the well of life and how we have come to the land of Canaan, flowing with milk and honey . . . which the Scriptures tell us the Lord has prepared for his people. He has brought us out of the devilish bondage of the ecclesiastical authorities, which holds you in captivity. . . . Here we are relieved of hearing and seeing Sweden's satellites of the devil, whose tongues are inspired by the

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[29] Letter from Stockholm to *Jönköpings-Bladet,* printed in part in *Norrlands-Posten,* July 24, 1846.

[30] *Norrlands-Posten,* December 31, 1847.

> minions of hell and who murdered the prophets and Jesus himself and snatched the Bible from Eric Janson's hands and came against us with staves, guns, and torches, together with ropes and chains, to take away the freedom we have in Christ. But praised be God through all eternity that we are freed from them and are now God's peculiar people. . . . This is the land of liberty, where everybody can worship God in his own way and can choose pastors who are full of the spirit, light, and perfection. . . . Therefore, make ready and let nothing hinder you . . . and depart from Babel, that is, Sweden, fettered body and soul by the law.[31]

The establishment of a communistic society at Bishop Hill was not so much a matter of doctrine as of necessity. Many years later a woman who had suffered violence at the hands of a mob in Sweden and who had been recorded in the church book as "demented by Eric-Jansonism" wrote to the bailiff who had befriended her that upon arrival in America it had been impossible for individuals to purchase their own farms and for this reason it was decided to have things in common, according to Eric Janson's suggestion, until sufficient wealth had been accumulated to make a division possible. It was not so much a matter of economics, she wrote, as it was the feeling of solidarity it gave them in a strange land.[32]

After a visit to the colony in 1847 a Jansonist who remained in Chicago praised the communistic feature. If anyone was in need of clothing, he wrote, all he had to do was to apply to the management and procure what he needed. The cooking and eating was done in two kitchens. No one worked longer hours than it pleased him, but everyone proceeded on the theory that the more industrious he was, the more there would be to divide when the time came. Everything was well arranged and administered efficiently. Disobedience was never tolerated, and a single word of opposition was sufficient to condemn a man to hell. "Eric Janson is called 'prophet' by all except the most distinguished members of the community, who call him 'Janson,'" he continued. "All believe that there is no salvation in the whole world except for them who accept

[31] Letter from Anders Jonsson, Bishop Hill, Illinois, February 9, 1847, in *Hudikswalls Weckoblad,* July 17, 1847.

[32] Anna Maria Stråle to J. E. Ekblom, May 7, 1867, May 5, 1872 (MS).

him who was sent by God in the fulness of time. He is clothed with the perfection of God Almighty. He can probe the heart and fathom all things, even the deeps of God's wisdom. All the managers and the so-called apostles are endowed with the same power." The visitor heard many sermons abounding in descriptions and warnings of the most terrible punishments of Israel, as he termed it. After God had searched in vain in all lands throughout the centuries for a savior and mediator, he had chosen Eric Janson, who had risked all — property, life, salvation, and eternal condemnation. The faithful believed that their prophet was unable to utter a single word that was not of God and that not one of his prophecies could fail of fulfillment.

One of his earliest prophecies, however, somehow missed fire, with dire consequences for the colony. In the fall of 1846 he declared that if every one of the pilgrims from Sweden did not arrive at Bishop Hill by New Year's Day it would be conclusive proof that all his prophecies were of the devil. When some parties did not put in their appearance until the following January and March, many took the bishop at his word and severed all spiritual and material connection with the colony. But there were many more whose faith led them to believe that God had repented of His judgment because the late comers were not prepared at the originally appointed time to enter the bridal chamber. As a true prophet Janson could not have twelve faithful disciples — one of them had to be the exception that proved the genuineness of the eleven. The faithful eleven attended English school in order to preach the gospel to the heathen. The bishop himself preached in English for the first time on June 7, 1847.[33]

Most of those who left Eric Janson's company were unable to write such dispassionate letters as the one quoted above. One man who had remained in the colony a year and a half before deserting wrote that a number of people died in great pain, and the general impression was that they were poisoned by the prophet because he had prophesied they would die as a punishment. He warned people that certain disciples had been sent to Sweden to recruit members and to claim the heritage of girls who had not been of legal age at the time of emigration.[34] Some of the disillusioned ones did not hesitate to apply most opprobrious epithets to the colony and the prophet. It was reported that Americans had applied the name "Bishop Hell" to the community and that letters thus addressed had found their way to it.[35] A former constable at Bollnäs wrote that he had met a number of former members of the colony at Victoria, at Andover, and at Galesburg and had made four visits to the "hellish" colony, which had acquired the name "Sodom." Rumors of the prophet's "flight" were untrue, he learned. Everything had been purchased in Janson's name; he was the sole owner of everything, and the members of the colony were virtually his slaves. He had deprived them of money, clothing, and personal property.

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[33] Letter from Anders Andersson, in *Julhelg*, 1925, pp. 89–90.

> Janson is a rich man. He has fifty teams of horses, twenty yoke of oxen, three hundred cows, three hundred and three sheep, four hundred slaves, one judge, a bookkeeper, a foreman, a gamekeeper, and twelve apostles. Of the total number of emigrants, only three hundred are alive, and one hundred of them have deserted in favor of the new towns that have sprung up. He has more than three hundred hogs, and I do not know how many chickens, geese, ducks, and turkeys, but there are many. . . . He has sent many loads of wheat to Chicago, Rock Island, and Peoria . . . and still only a few months ago his people were compelled to live on the bread of sorrow and mush, that is, a mixture of corn and potatoes. Also, through the winter the people have threshed for him and the Americans

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[34] Letter dated June 24, 1849, published without signature in *Hudikswalls Weckoblad,* reprinted in *Helsi,* Söderhamn, September 14, 1849. The writer (probably Daniel Londberg, because in a letter from O. Jansson to *Helsi,* dated March 8, 1850, he replied to a letter written by a person of that name) admits that he came to Sweden in the interest of the Jansonists and himself; he claims that his good reputation before he emigrated was a guarantee of his good intentions and denies the wild stories in circulation about the Bishop Hill colony. A letter from Olof Olsson of Victoria, Illinois, dated August 2, 1848, and printed in *Helsi,* October 5, 1849, gave warning that Janson was sending agents to Sweden because he was unable to win converts among the Americans, who saw through his schemes. A writer signing himself "C. G. B.," in a letter dated at New York on November 4, 1846, and published in *Helsi,* April 3, 1847, stated that during the three or four weeks Eric Janson sojourned in New York he preached in several houses and converted some people, notwithstanding the fact that not all of them understood his language. Pehr Andersson, in a letter from Valla, Sweden, dated April 9, 1850, and printed in *Helsi,* April 12, 1850, alleged that O. Jansson evaded the facts given by Londberg and others; that stories about sexual immorality at Bishop Hill were probably true, because while Eric Janson was in Sweden he seduced a young girl in Delsbo.

[35] Anders Larsson to J. E. Ekblom, Chicago, October 1, 1848 (MS).

and have earned a great amount of wheat. He has purchased a threshing machine, which is loaded on two wagons and drawn by two horses from place to place. He can thresh at least one hundred and fifty bushels per day and demands every third bushel for his services, and still the people have to live on a miserable diet. . . . To the victims of severe sickness he says, " You are damned because you have not faith; you must descend into hell with your apostasy. . . ." Every conceivable form of disease and misery has come upon these people.[36]

A very interesting account of personal experiences and of conditions among the Jansonists is found in a letter from a man who emigrated against his will, obviously in obedience to his wife, a convert to Jansonism.[37] In spite of many troubles, including domestic ones, he wrote with restraint and undoubtedly told the truth as he saw it. He sailed from Stockholm on July 8, 1847, some thirteen months after the Jansonist exodus began and arrived at New York on September 8. In New York he learned many discreditable things about Janson and his apostles; how his followers had starved and fallen victims of disease; how the corpses had been thrown into trenches; how the sick were compelled to lie in rooms strewn with dead bodies; and how the apostles lived in riotous luxury in the midst of the misery of others. These reports opened the eyes of his wife; she repudiated the Jansonist faith and through the instrumentality of the missionary Hedström joined the Methodist church with her husband. After a stay of nine days in New York the couple journeyed west over the route followed by the Jansonists — up the Hudson to Albany by steamboat for seven hours, through the Erie Canal to Buffalo on a boat drawn by two and three horses, thence by steamboat on the Great Lakes to Chicago, and overland for about a hundred and seventy-five miles to Victoria. After a few days they were visited here by the wife's brother and another man, who urged them to go to Bishop Hill, but the will of the renegade wife was adamant, and the two men were obliged to return from a fruitless mission.

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[36] O. Bäck, in a letter published without date in *Norrlands-Posten,* March 31, 1849. An unsigned letter from Victoria, dated January 12, 1850, and printed in *Helsi,* July 5, 1850, states that the writer arrived at Bishop Hill in 1846 but remained only four days, after which he went to Victoria and stayed in the home of Bäck, formerly of Bollnäs. " Eric Janson is not the man he was in Sweden," he wrote. " He is a swindler, but in spite of it keeps several hundred in spiritual and economic fetters." At a parish meeting held in Bollnäs on November 3, 1844, fines were laid on persons who had opened their homes to meetings of Jansonists, whereupon four men publicly stated that they were Jansonists and protested the action of the meeting. Jonzon, *Blad ur Bollnäs församlings kyrkohistoria,* 180–182.

[37] Dated at Victoria, Illinois, February 18, 1848, and printed without signature in *Helsi,* July 28, 1848.

A week later the brother came again, and this time he prevailed upon his sister to pay a visit to the New Jerusalem, with the understanding that her husband was to call for her after two days. But forty-eight hours were sufficient to convert the apostate, and the man departed without his spouse. Within a week the two men and the woman returned to Victoria to obtain her personal property, whereupon they were arrested, released under one hundred dollars bail, and scheduled to stand trial at the next term of court. Five days later the wife fled to the Jansonist colony. Although they lived only about fifteen miles apart, husband and wife did not see each other until the Christmas holidays, which the husband spent at Bishop Hill. On Christmas and New Year's Day the women sewed and knitted, and the men chopped wood and hewed logs. He visited the colony several times afterward, but with each visit his wife became increasingly "malicious," and the last time he was not even allowed to stay under the same roof with her. They lived apart for three months, but a week before he wrote the letter she paid him a friendly visit. He wrote that he was considering moving to the colony but never would he embrace their faith. He asserted that not a single prophecy of Janson had been fulfilled, not even the promise that many converts would be made among the Americans.

Of the twelve hundred followers who had left for America only 570 were members of the colony at the time, said the correspondent. They were living in dugouts, from twenty to thirty in each, but Janson and the other "lazybones" were accommodated in a frame house. He found economic conditions good. They manufactured various articles, and even *brännvin* was distilled — to the glory of God.[38] Prayers were held morning and evening, and religious services on the Sabbath, but even on that day *brännvin* was sold. The people were fed and clothed, but coffee and sugar were luxuries enjoyed only by the apostles. There were three dining rooms with four long tables in each. The people were in a state of serfdom, and their lives were regulated by the clock. At the six o'clock bell everyone arose; at seven-thirty they were called to prayers, which lasted until eight or nine; then the breakfast bell was heard and after that the signal to begin work was given. The rest of the day was regulated likewise. After the evening meal they were called to prayers. Janson's word was law. The prophet waxed great, but the writer of the letter predicted that the fate that befell Nebuchadnezzar, as recorded in the fourth chapter of Daniel, would overtake him. The sorrows of the correspondent did not prevent him from praising America and the opportunities it offered young people, but he added a postscript admonishing all who were foolish enough to desire to emigrate to conquer their desire and remain in the fatherland.

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[38] Herlenius in *Erik-Jansismen,* page 29, says that in Sweden Janson had been temperate, but that he later regretted his stand and defended the moderate use of *brännvin.* He drank it very sparingly and primarily as a medicine. In America his position was entirely different.

Although the letters do not always agree in details, they are in substantial agreement that sickness took heavy toll of lives. One man, whose wife continued to live in the colony in spite of his desertion of her, wrote that during the first months in America the apostles promised that miracles would be performed, but they were not fulfilled. Then a fast of forty days was ordered, but Anders Andersson, one of the men whose letters presented such glowing pictures of the New Jerusalem, ate and drank through faith.[39] There were so many desertions that after a day's trial the fast was broken, the reason given being that the hypocrites had already revealed themselves. One evening Prophet Andersson announced that the following day all the sick would be well, and accordingly they were ordered to get up and dress and take their places on chairs around the fire. Some were so weak that they had to be supported to prevent them from falling off the chairs. According to one correspondent armed men patrolled the colony at night to apprehend deserters, and those who eluded the guards were not allowed to return for their effects. If some complained that

[39] *Norrlands-Posten,* December 31, 1847.

the fare was too scanty, he said, they were told that they could live on much less if they had faith.[40]

It is a tribute to the executive ability of Janson and his apostles and the industry of their followers that in spite of sickness, death, dissension, and the hardships attendant upon pioneering, the colony prospered. More land was purchased from time to time; residences and a church were erected; a sawmill, a flour mill, and a brick factory were set up; farm machinery was purchased; schools were maintained; thousands of yards of linen and carpets were spun and woven; and in 1850 a party of gold-seekers were commissioned in the name of the Lord to go to California.[41]

Naturally, adventurers drifted into the colony from time to time, and among them was an original character by the name of Wester, a man whose dealings in America were no more honorable than they had been in Sweden, where he was known by the surname Westerlund.[42] In America Wester successfully transferred his sphere of usefulness from the vocation of rag merchant to those of Methodist revivalist, official barber to Eric Janson, owner of a barber shop, and storekeeper. What caused him to desert the Bishop Hill colony was the insistence of the prophet that he marry a buxom maiden from Hälsingland, a demand that he refused on the ground that the discipline of the church ought not to extend to such private affairs. The real reason for his refusal was probably the fact that he already had a wife, a secret he had evidently deemed it best not to reveal to the prophet. Cleng Peerson, the "pathfinder of Norwegian immigration," at the age of sixty-five decided to cast his lot with the perfectionists and threw the money he had received from the sale of his farms into the common treasury. He even made the sacrifice — heroic decision for a Norwegian — of marrying a Swedish girl. But the blissful state of matrimony and communism was unable to hold him, and within a short time he was on his travels again, a wiser but poorer man.[43]

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[40] Among the significant letters that the present writer has seen may be noted those in *Najaden*, Karlskrona, reprinted in *Norrlands-Posten*, November 24, 1846; *Norrlands-Posten*, February 7, 1850; *Falun Tidning*, reprinted in *Helsi*, March 21, 1847; and *Helsi*, May 14, 1847; correspondence from Chicago, in the *Harbinger* (organ of the Brook Farm Phalanx, New York), October 10, 1846; and correspondence in the *Chicago Democrat*, quoted in the *Voice of Industry*, Lowell, Massachusetts, October 15, 1847; and letters from Per Ersson to J. E. Ekblom (MSS), December 28, 1846, April 12, September 28, 1847, March 12, 1848.

[41] Johnson and Peterson, *Svenskarne i Illinois*, 35–39. In 1851 broom corn became an important crop.

[42] Anders Larsson to J. E. Ekblom, October 1, 1848 (MS). An interesting account of Wester's career is given in Unonius, *Minnen från en sjuttonårig vistelse i nordvestra Amerika*, 1: 333–335.

Bishop Janson's economic domain brought him serious troubles, but what proved to be his undoing were his ventures into the realm of domestic affairs. In the first months of the Bishop Hill enterprise he revealed that marriage was a sin, but experience taught him that as a temporary expedient the step might be taken, and when his eyes were opened still wider he proclaimed that all the inhabitants of the New Jerusalem must marry and people the earth. An epidemic of weddings ensued, and on the Sabbath the faithful were permitted to witness the tying of as many as thirty hymeneal knots. In 1849 a party of Norwegian immigrants, direct from the fatherland, brought with them to Bishop Hill the cholera, which they had contracted on the Illinois Canal between Chicago and Peru. In order to escape the death-dealing ravages of the pestilence many of the faithful sought refuge on Rock Island in the Mississippi River.[44] Here occurred the death of the prophet's wife, a misfortune the prophet declared to be a consequence of the devilishly weak faith of the people. A few days later he revealed in a sermon that Israel could not be saved unless he took unto himself another wife and thereby gave to the colony another spiritual mother, who would appear before the close of the day. The prophecy was more than fulfilled when two women claiming the title to spiritual motherhood appeared before the bridegroom.[45] The records give no clue as to the reason why the responsibility of spiritual motherhood fell on Mrs. Sophia Pollock, three times a widow, but tongues coated with scandal claimed to know.

Among those who were attracted into communion with the faithful at Bishop Hill from economic rather than religious motives was a certain John Root, of whom the son of the prophet wrote that he was the "biggest scoundrel that ever set foot on American soil."[46] His affiliation with the colony was shortly followed by his marriage to a cousin of the prophet, a condition of which was that if he ever separated himself from the society the bonds of matrimony would also be severed. Root proved to be a drone in the hive, absenting himself for extended periods, after which he would return and mistreat his wife. After the birth of a son he decided to remove his family from the communion of the elect, but Janson insisted that he abide by the terms of the marriage agreement. By hook or crook Root secured possession of his wife on two occasions, only to lose her through the relentlessness of the prophet. Threatened by lynch law, fire, and legal process, Janson escaped the murderous Root as successfully as he had escaped from the clutches of the Swedish authorities until the thirteenth of May, 1850, when a bullet from the pistol of the adventurer in the courthouse at Cambridge put an instantaneous end to his career.[47]

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[43] Theodore C. Blegen, "Cleng Peerson and Norwegian Immigration," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, March, 1921, pp. 323, 328.

[44] Johnson and Peterson, *Svenskarne i Illinois*, 37.

[45] Unonius, *Minnen*, 2: 378–379.

The assassin's bullet deprived the Jansonists of their hero, prophet, and business manager, and their colony faced the problem that confronted the Mormons at Nauvoo four years before, when a mob took the life of Joseph Smith. Brigham Young, a leonine "promoter," stepped into Smith's shoes and became the Moses to lead his people to the Promised Land, and the disciples of Joseph became more united than ever in the prosperity that flowed in the irrigation ditches of Utah. Jonas Olson, the *läsare* of Söderala, was on his way to California when news of the prophet's death reached him, and he immediately retraced his steps, probably because he realized that the Bishop Hill colonists could spin, weave, and thresh more gold for him than he could mine in the Golden State. Andrew

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[46] Johnson and Peterson, *Svenskarne i Illinois*, 40.

[47] A column-and-a-half account of the murder of Janson, reprinted from an American newspaper sent to the editor by a sea captain from Gävle, is printed in *Norrlands-Posten*, July 18, 1850. The tragedy occasioned much comment in Swedish newspapers. Unonius (*Minnen*, 2: 382) gave the date of Janson's death as May 30, an error repeated by later writers. See Herlenius, *Erik-Jansismen*, 81–82. On June 27, 1850, *Norrlands-Posten* commented as follows: "This was the fate of the deceiver who led so many unfortunate people from this region into ruin and misery. Now that the sect has lost its leader it will undoubtedly disintegrate, if for no other reason than that the fanatics will see in the event proof that the self-deified man was just as weak in the sight of God as any other mortal and could not foresee and prevent the menace to his life."

Bergland was the ad interim successor of Janson until the fortune hunter returned. Jonas Olson was a good popular speaker and above all shrewd, intriguing, ambitious for honor, and jealous, qualities he carefully concealed under the guise of Christian humility.[48]

The title to the Bishop Hill property was vested in Eric Janson's name, but Olson soon had complete control, having crowded out those who stood in his way. In 1853, having concluded that the time was ripe, he decided to incorporate the colony, and the people allowed him to carry out his purpose because they were inexperienced and had confidence in the integrity of their energetic leader, under whose régime they were constantly becoming more prosperous. Under the terms of the charter the management was vested in seven "wise men" legally designated as trustees, whose term of office could be terminated only by death, misbehavior, or resignation.[49] "That a more ingenious, artful, and dangerous instrument than this charter has never been approved" by the legislature of Illinois is the judgment of the son of Eric Janson, writing a quarter of a century later. No less than five of the trustees were from the parish of Söderala, a fact that has been explained on the theory that the people in that parish learned the tricks of the trade by reason of their proximity to the city of Söderhamn. The board of trustees became a sort of parish and family affair, most of the members of the Söderala quintet being related. Moreover, they had been very active in the affairs of the colony since the days when every effort was concentrated on the problem of providing ships and provisions for the departing emigrants, and they were thus by expe-

[48] Anna Maria Stråle to J. E. Ekblom, May 5, 1872 (MS.).

[49] On the later history of the Bishop Hill colony there is a disagreement between Johnson and Peterson, *Svenskarne i Illinois,* 41–54, and E. W. Olson, *History of the Swedes of Illinois,* Chicago, 1908, 1: 197–270. Eric Johnson, the son of Eric Janson and joint author of the first work, was in opposition to the trustees, and his chapter puts them in a very unfavorable light. E. W. Olson (page 259) writes as follows with reference to the "Bishop Hill Colony Case": "In this famous lawsuit, renowned among the legal fraternity as the 'Colony Case,' there were many facts brought out, favorable to the defendants, which are usually ignored by writers who have dealt with the history of Bishop Hill. While the trustees as a body cannot be exonerated from blame for the sins of commission and omission charged to their executive head, Eric Johnson's printer's ink has tended to make them out rather blacker than they deserve. It is only common fairness to assume that the truth in this case was not all on one side."

rience more than a match for their adversaries. The Bishop Hill beehive continued its activity, and all went well for a time. Olson gradually tightened his grip and became more despotic, laying down the law in his sermons as arbitrarily as his predecessor had done. The whistle of the locomotive on the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy Railroad for the station at Galva in 1854 was the signal for the invasion of an army of promoters for projected railways, slaughterhouses, stores, banks, and so forth, and shortly the "Söderala five" were to learn that the Americans knew more about stocks and bonds than they had learned in Söderhamn. But it was too late. Dissension arose, factions were formed, and the demand for the dissolution of the communistic colony became so strong that no amount of explaining and juggling of figures could prevent it. Some of the malcontents were driven from the colony, but the word from the lips of Jonas Olson fell on stony ground; the ties of a common faith were giving way. The Jansonist horror of "learned preachers" could not shut out all intelligence, and in 1860 the communist colony at Bishop Hill went the way of the Brook Farm Phalanx and most similar experiments on American soil.

But this event was only the beginning of sorrow; litigation was only in its infancy. Suits and counter-suits, assessments, and auctions depleted the savings of years; finally, on the fifth of September, 1879, many of the colonists were assembled at Cambridge, the scene of the murder of their leader, to witness the legal sale of their farms. At three o'clock Judge William H. Gest, the master in chancery, entered the court room; the attorney on behalf of the colonists protested the sale, but the law took its course. The cost of the proceedings in the case was about $57,000, and the debt of the colony about $400,000, or over $1,017 a share.[50] The litigation was the talk of the settlement; the bewildered and disappointed colonists said the trial and decision was a parody on justice. Some thought that they should swallow the dose and be done with the bad business, whereas others were in favor of making an appeal and fighting to the bitter end.[51]

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[50] The *Svenska Tribunen* of Chicago printed a number of communications with reference to the case. See especially those published on February 19, July 2, September 10, 17, 24, October 1, 15, 1879. In the issue of September 17 "Åskådare" gives a list of the farms sold and the prices of each. The *Illinois Swede* of Galva, 1869–1870, publishes the court proceedings. See the *Illinois State Journal,* Springfield, under date of January 23, 1857, for the report of the committee on the judiciary with reference to the petition to repeal the Bishop Hill charter.

After the colonists began "living like other people," many of Eric Janson's disciples who had risked their lives for the faith hearkened to the exhortations of sectarians and went over to other confessions, but a number tried for a time to live according to the light that had been kindled in their hearts in Sweden.[52] Jonas Olson continued to preach to a little flock in the pulpit of the large colony church until old age claimed the comforts of an invalid's chair, not, however, until he was well beyond the allotted three score and ten. He died on November 18, 1898, in his ninety-sixth year.

The Methodists organized a congregation in 1864, whose services were held at the same hour as those of Jonas Olson. But the Seventh-day Adventists made the most converts; they came with a brand new doctrine borne on the tongues of high-powered evangelists. In 1870 no less than one hundred and fifty former Jansonists were baptized, and a congregation was immediately organized. Lutheranism recalled too many bitter memories of persecution in the old country to win converts, and between the two Robert Ingersoll could undoubtedly claim the greater following. After the fire of the Jansonist faith had burned out, it was difficult for the preachers of any denomination to rekindle the hearts of men and women whose tragic experiences with justice as meted out by bishops or judges, the acme of authority in the respective domains, made them skeptical of creeds and laws.

There is nothing similar to the Jansonist experiment in the annals of Swedish immigration to the United States, and it is much more than a mere episode. The attitude of the Church of Sweden not only caused the Jansonists to make the heroic effort to desert a land where some men could prescribe what others were to read and believe, but it was a cumulative cause to intensify dissatisfaction with the fatherland in the hearts of many emigrants, whether Lutherans, Baptists, Methodists, Mission Friends, or Mormons. Moreover, the individual members of the emigrant parties under the leadership of the "princes" settled in various communities of one of the fairest portions of the Mississippi Valley, and the letters they wrote advertised a portion of the earth's surface where freedom, democracy, and prosperity reigned.[53]

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[51] For additional material on the history of Bishop Hill see the series of articles published under the title "Något om de första svensk-amerikanska banbrytarne" in *Svenska Tribunen*, December 29, 1880, January 5, 12, 26, 1881. There are many letters from Anders Larsson of Chicago to J. E. Ekblom in *Landsarkivet*, Uppsala. In his last letter, dated May 11, 1880, Larsson replies to Ekblom's request for information by saying that he has delayed because Captain Eric Johnson had asked him to wait until he came to Chicago to talk with him. The latter had just completed a seven-hundred-page history of the Swedes in the United States, he added.

[52] Anna Maria Stråle to J. E. Ekblom, May 7, 1867 (MS).

[53] In addition to the works previously cited, the following may be added: E. Norelius, *De svenska luterska församlingarnas och svenskarnes historia i Amerika,* Rock Island, 1890, 1: 61–84. This work quotes extensively from an article by Harald Wieselgren, in *Biografiskt lexicon öfver namnkunnige svenske män* and from Johnson and Peterson, *Svenskarne i Illinois.* Norelius criticizes sharply the account in Unonius, *Minnen,* 2: 374–386. For further material on the controversy see Unonius, *Bihang till "Minnen från en sjuttonårig vistelse i nordvestra Amerika,"* Stockholm, 1896; and Norelius, "Svar till herr G. Unonius på hans 'Bihang till minnen från en 17-årig vistelse i nordvestra Amerika,'" *Tidskrift för svensk ev. luth. kyrkohistoria i N. Amerika,* Rock Island, 1899, pp. 15–51. Sivert Erdahl has pieced together from secondary sources a summary in "Eric Janson and the Bishop Hill Colony," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society,* October, 1925. Interesting sidelights on Eric Janson, Jonas Olson, and O. Bäck and the action of the church are given in Jonzon, *Blad ur Bollnäs församlings kyrkohistoria,* 177–188. Interesting pages are also contained in A. W. Qvarnström, *Anteckningar om Söderala socken i Gefleborgs län, efter äldre och nyare tryckta och otryckta källor,* tredje häftet, Söderhamn, 1904, pp. 72–90. An interesting and reliable account written by a student of history, who draws information from documents and correspondence with old settlers, is Philip J. Stoneberg's "The Bishop Hill Colony," in H. L. Kiner, *History of Henry County, Illinois,* Chicago, 1910, 1: 621–651. Additional material is contained in *Semi-Centennial Celebration of the Settlement of Bishop Hill Colony. Held at Bishop Hill, Illinois, Wednesday and Thursday, September 23 and 24, 1896,* Galva, 1909, drawn from news items in the *Galva Weekly News,* with some additions; [Erik Janson], *Några ord till Guds församling,* Söderhamn, 1846, a defense of the doctrine and works of the prophet; [Erik Janson], *Ett ord i sinom tid, eller en kort wederläggning af Erik Jansismen i Helsingland,* Söderhamn, 1846, a reply to a book, *Erik Jansismen i Helsingland.*

CHAPTER V

THE BAPTISTS IN SWEDEN

THE history of the Baptists in Sweden offers no exception to the rule that every religious movement of importance bears the stamp of a great personality. For over a generation the dominating figure among the Baptists was Anders Wiberg, an able, studious, active, cultured, and consecrated man, whose enduring influence on both sides of the Atlantic cannot easily be overemphasized. He was never in the best of health, and it is remarkable that the span of his life was so long and the record of his accomplishments so impressive. He was fortunate in having at his side a number of able and self-sacrificing men who understood and respected their leader and at the same time possessed the initiative and courage to pioneer new fields in the face of opposition and persecution.

The Baptist church was another flower of the religious revival that dates from the time when the Wesleyan missionary, George Scott, was active in stirring Sweden from its lethargy by implanting in many hearts the love of service to fellow men. Without exception every one of the earliest and greatest Baptist leaders had come in contact with Scott, either through hearing his sermons in Bethlehem Chapel or through less formal channels of intercourse. When the mob spirit compelled the missionary to discontinue his services and depart from the country, they drew inspiration from his successor, Rosenius, although the latter was a strictly orthodox Lutheran. The Swedish Baptist movement reveals in superlative degree the influence of America. Some of the leaders were converted in the United States, and many more received their training and education there; American money contributed to the establishment and maintenance of its institutions and congregations; and, above all, the example of free America was an inspiration and moral influence that gave sustenance in the hours of discouragement. With the possible exception of the Mission Friends, there was more intimate contact and more cordial cooperation between the Baptists in Sweden and in America than there was in the case of any other religious group.

Two sailors, Gustavus W. Schröder and Fredrik Olaus Nilsson, were instrumental in importing the Baptist faith into Sweden from the United States, although the first Baptist preacher to visit Sweden was a Dane, P. E. Ryding, who appeared there in 1843.[1] It is significant that three of the earliest and most important leaders in Sweden — Nilsson, Wiberg, and Gustaf Palmquist — laid the foundations of the Swedish Baptist church in the United States. A study of their careers is also a study of the beginnings of their church in both countries.

Fredrik Olaus Nilsson (1809–1881) was a shoemaker until 1827; he then shipped on a Swedish vessel for several years before joining the crew of an American vessel plying between New York and Charleston. Like most religious leaders, Nilsson experienced a great spiritual crisis; a heavy storm off Cape Hatteras brought him to a consciousness of the need of a Savior.[2] After this voyage he visited the Baptist Mariners' Church in New York and in personal conferences with the pastor, Henry Chase, he found peace for his soul. During one summer he tried to win converts among seamen as a colporteur in the employ of the New York Tract Society. At this time, however, there were comparatively few Swedish and Norwegian sailors coming to New York, and the neophyte longed to spread the glad tidings among his own countrymen. He returned to Sweden in 1839 and immediately became active in missionary work, traveling from parish to parish until 1842, when he accepted a call from the Seamen's Friend Society of New York to work among the mariners at Gothenburg. In 1840 he met Scott in Stockholm and also Anders Wiberg, the former's co-laborer, and it was through these men that he espoused the cause of temperance with greater zeal than ever. It was also through Scott that he enlisted in the service of the British and Foreign Bible Society.

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[1] N. J. Nordström, *En kulturbild från 1800-talets religiösa brytningstid. Den första svenska baptist-församlingens uppkomst och kamp för samvetsfriheten,* Stockholm, 1926, pp. 20–23. This work quotes freely from documents and gives an account of early Baptist emigration. A large part of the book is concerned with the work of Fredrik O. Nilsson and with the persecution of the Baptists.

[2] J. Byström, *En frikyrklig banbrytare eller F. O. Nilssons lif och verksamhet,* Stockholm, 1910, pp. 20 ff.

Before 1845 Nilsson was a Lutheran, but in that year he began to study the question of baptism. He was encouraged by Gustavus W. Schröder, whom he met at Gothenburg in that year. Schröder, a native of Gothenburg, was a sailor who had been converted in New Orleans in 1844 and shortly thereafter baptized in the Baptist Mariners' Church at New York. In Gothenburg Schröder and Nilsson discussed scriptural passages and found themselves generally in agreement. The same year Schröder returned to Valparaiso, Chile, where he remained until 1861; after that he resided alternately in the United States and in Sweden, where he represented agencies interested in stimulating emigration, a vocation that attracted rather more than its share of free-church people. He was a rabid Baptist, a man decidedly inferior in intellect to Nilsson and Wiberg.[3] Through his new acquaintance Nilsson corresponded with J. G. Oncken, a Baptist preacher in Hamburg; the result was that he was baptized in the River Elbe on August 1, 1847, an event that is stressed by Swedish Baptist historians; they have the distasteful duty, however, of recording that during the later years of his life, when he was living in retirement at Houston, Minnesota, he was an avowed Unitarian.[4]

The news of the immersion of Nilsson created a mild sensation in Sweden, and many of his friends and associates in sowing the seeds of the gospel turned away from him. He was well aware of the menace of the *konventikelplakat* and of the dangers that lurked in the violence of mobs, but with the spirit of a martyr he determined to confess publicly the faith that was in him, although at the time of his return to Sweden he seriously considered emigration to America, the country that knew nothing of an established church. When he did go to America, however, it was not exactly of his own volition; it was under a sentence of exile from his native land.

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[3] Gustavus W. Schröder. *History of the Swedish Baptists in Sweden and America. Being an Account of the Origin, Program and Results of That Missionary Work during the last Half of the Nineteenth Century,* New York, 1898. This is a radical defense of the Baptists, very loosely put together.

[4] Carl G. Lagergren, *Efter sjuttio år (1862–1922). Svenska baptiströrelsens uppkomst och utveckling i Amerika. Historisk återblick,* St. Paul, 1922, pp. 21–27.

The beginnings of Baptist activity in Sweden were not auspicious. After a year of tireless work there were only six baptized converts, and with this nucleus the first Baptist congregation was organized on September 21, 1848, at Borekulla, Halland, by A. P. Förster, a Danish minister who had been sent from Hamburg. It was not until May 3, 1849, that Nilsson was ordained into the ministry at Hamburg.[5] Within a few months, as the result of his preaching and baptizing activities, he was brought into the clutches of the law on the formal complaint of a pastor to the consistory at Gothenburg on December 4, 1849. Nilsson appeared before the consistory, various investigations were made, and in a few cases infants were baptized by force as required by law. On New Year's Day of 1850 a mob broke up a Baptist meeting, brutally handled Nilsson, and turned him over to an officer of the law, who put him in prison for seven days, without a bed or heat.[6] A little later in the same year Nilsson appeared before the lower court of appeal (*Göta hofrätt*) at Jönköping to answer the charge of propagating doctrines contrary to the "true evangelical faith." He gave a dignified and straightforward statement of his religious convictions and activity that won the admiration of the court, but under the law the bench had no alternative but to banish him from the realm; his property was not confiscated, however, and his right of inheritance was not taken away.[7]

After his conviction Nilsson went to Stockholm to seek the pardon of the king, and here he met Forsell, Nordell, Hejdenberg, and the Palmquist brothers, all of whom were later to become Baptists. Oscar I granted him an audience and treated the suppliant with kind consideration. Being a warm friend of the temperance movement, the king praised Nilsson's work in behalf of that cause and told him that, while he had no objection to his conversion to Baptism, he could not approve of proselytism because of the irregularities that would result. The upshot of the interview was that the king informed Nilsson that he could do nothing, but that he would follow the decision of the supreme court with interest. On October 9, 1850,

[5] Byström, *En frikyrklig banbrytare,* 42 ff.

[6] *Bihang till Evangelisten,* Stockholm, April 30, 1858.

[7] Byström, *En frikyrklig banbrytare,* 75 ff. The pertinent documents are printed in this work.

this judicial body sustained the sentence of the lower court. Spurred on by friends and by a petition from friends to the king, Nilsson made a further appeal for clemency, but in vain. It has been suggested that the hands of the king were tied by virtue of the fact that five years previously a Catholic convert had been banished, and if His Majesty had shown clemency to a Baptist, he would have had difficulty in explaining his course to the queen and the queen mother, both of whom were Catholics. Moreover, at that time the state church was under the domination of that prince of high churchliness, Archbishop Reuterdahl.[8]

After leaving Sweden in the summer of 1851, Nilsson served as pastor in Copenhagen until the spring of 1853, when with twenty-three Swedish Baptists, harried by persecution, he took passage for America. Here he performed the rôle of a circuit rider in the Mississippi Valley until September, 1860, when he returned to Sweden, still an outlaw to his native soil. By that time Sweden had taken a step in the direction of religious liberty by modifying the *konventikelplakat,* and when application for pardon was made, it was granted by the new king, Charles XV, on December 11, 1860.

Unfortunate as the sentence of banishment was for the victim, it was probably fortunate for the Baptist cause and, indeed, for every inhabitant of Sweden. The case attracted a great deal of attention and brought home to many who had perhaps not given much, if any, thought to the practical working of the *konventikelplakat* the danger of allowing an enactment of that nature to remain a statute. The Swedish people are endowed with a great respect for law, but with it is combined a great love of freedom. A few days after Nilsson's appearance before the court at Jönköping a brochure presenting the judicial hearing in detail was published. Thousands of copies were distributed; the case was thus brought to the attention of the public, and the Baptist doctrine incidentally received much advertising. As one would expect, the press was generally hostile to Nilsson, but the liberal papers, of which there were a few by this time, were very outspoken in his defense. "With the sentence of the court on his head," commented a conservative paper, "he can pose as a martyr in America."[9] On the other hand, an outstanding liberal sheet deplored that a man of Nilsson's type should be liable to punishment and held up America as an example of a country where freedom reigned without injuring the cause of Christianity and the moral order.[10] Before the trial began, another paper, anticipating the judgment of the court, lamented that an honest, respectable, and truth-seeking citizen must be banished for his religious beliefs in consequence of a church polity in which the finest points of doctrine loomed larger than the grossest transgressions against the moral order.[11]

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[8] Byström, *En frikyrklig banbrytare,* 115 ff.

Anders Wiberg had a number of experiences that parallel those of Nilsson, although the characters of the two were cast in entirely different molds, the former being, both by nature and in education, greatly the superior. Wiberg had taken his degree at Uppsala University and had been ordained into the state church. His character bore the marks of his Norrland birth and early environment. Though he was, of course, not without human frailties, it can nevertheless be said that any church might well consider itself fortunate to number a man of Wiberg's type among its members.[12]

[9] *Göteborgs-Posten,* May 1, 1850.

[10] *Jönköpings-Bladet,* cited in Byström, *En frikyrklig banbrytare,* 89–90.

[11] *Göteborgs Handels- och Sjöfarts-Tidning,* printed in *Norrlands-Posten,* November 29, December 1, 1849.

[12] The record of Wiberg's life is unusually complete. His manuscript diary, covering the period from March 5, 1844, to July 30, 1887, is preserved in the archives of Bethel Seminary in Stockholm. The entries begin during his student days and continue until within four months of his death, which occurred on November 5, 1887. In December, 1884, at the age of sixty-four, he wrote a sketch of his early life, which appears as a preface to the diary and closes with the statement: "I now therefore take up the thread of the entries in my diary, which was written mostly in Swedish." As late as July 19, 1887, he mentions from time to time that he is engaged in translating his diary into English. The present writer has examined a volume of the Swedish original. Taken as a whole the manuscript is an exceedingly valuable source for the history of religious conditions in Sweden, the persecution of the Baptists, the activity of the Baptist church in Sweden and America, and events associated with men of influence and prominence whom Wiberg met in the two countries. Especially valuable is that portion concerned with his residence in the United States. Wiberg was likewise a voluminous correspondent, and the archives contain many manuscript letters from Baptists in America and Sweden, as well as outlines of sermons, account books, and so forth.

Considerable source material, including extracts from the diary, is printed in *Anders Wiberg's lif och verksamhet,* second revised and augmented edition, Stockholm, 1916. On the inside cover of a copy in the archives of Bethel Seminary is a statement signed by John Borin at Stockholm on July 12, 1923, that Jonas Stadling is the author of the book. This copy was presented to the seminary because it con-

Wiberg was well acquainted with Scott, Rosenius, and several other leaders of the *läsare* group. From 1840 to 1842 he edited *Missions-Tidning,* the paper in which Scott was so much interested, later published under the auspices of the National Evangelical Foundation. During this time he met for prayer and meditation with Schartauns and *läsare,* revealing that he had free-church tendencies, though he was ordained into the state church on June 11, 1843.[13] He was present at the tumult in Scott's chapel on the memorable Palm Sunday of 1842. This was not the last time he was to witness hostility to free-church people, for he became a pastor in Hälsingland, where he came in contact with Eric-Jansonists at Forsa and other places. His sermons and devotional meetings produced a revival of spirituality in his parish and the surrounding country; people came from Medelpad and Härjedalen to consult him. Naturally this brought criticism from the pastors, who claimed that he was unsettling the people. In his first pastoral charge he was assistant to an elderly pastor who spent much of his time in bed in a state of intoxication. In his next charge he fared no better with his superiors, who openly preached against the *läsare.*[14] He became active in the temperance movement and at a temperance meeting at Bjuråker, in August, 1844, heard an address by L. P. Esbjörn, whom he was to meet some nine years later at Andover, Illinois. He was also in correspondence with broad-minded men, including the Finnish pastor F. G. Hedberg, leader of a group with a special point of view.

Wiberg was of a type that could never have been happy in

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tains comments and criticisms by Captain G. W. Schröder. Stadling was born in Norrland and often visited the home of Wiberg in Stockholm. He was a student and teacher in Bethel Seminary, served as pastor of a Baptist congregation in Moline, Illinois, in 1881 and 1882, was assistant editor of several papers, and wrote a book about America entitled *Genom den stora vestern. Reseskildringar,* Stockholm, 1883. The author is very enthusiastic about the United States. He also wrote a very hostile book about the Mormons, *Hvad jag hörde och såg i mormonernas zion,* Stockholm, 1884 (second revised and augmented edition). The diary of Caroline Lintemuth, Wiberg's wife, which she kept during her residence in the United States and Sweden, is also in the seminary archives, but it is not as complete as Wiberg's.

For calling his attention to this material and for permission to use it the writer is deeply obligated to Dr. Gunnar Westin and to the Reverend N. J. Nordström, president of Bethel Seminary.

[13] *Anders Wibergs lif och verksamhet,* 18 ff.

[14] Diary, December 26, 1845.

the state church, where the pastor administered the Lord's Supper to believer and unbeliever, to the man who patterned his life after the Master and to the man who lived in open sin. Moreover, his position with reference to the "new books" was identical with that of many of the Norrland *läsare,* who continued to use the old books until the new ones were forced upon them.[15] He therefore left the ministry in the old church, but continued preaching at informal meetings in Hälsingland for about nine months; then, on June 19, 1850, he went to Stockholm, where he preached and administered the sacrament of the Lord's Supper to separatists in private homes. During these months he had no means of support, but the financial sacrifice was more than offset by his intercourse with Rosenius, the Palmquist brothers, Elmblad, and other great religious leaders. At the beginning of the next year he was notified of three months' suspension from the ministry by the Uppsala Consistory, and thus another link was forged in the chain that bound him to the free-church people. He did not increase his popularity with the ecclesiastical authorities when he assumed the editorship of *Evangelisten,* a periodical that breathed a spirit foreign to them.[16] Rosenius, in spite of his opposition to separatism, was very kind to Wiberg, inviting him to his home, although he taunted him with the charge that he was an "Eric-Janson man."[17] Rosenius, recognizing Wiberg's ability and upright character, probably wished to save him for the cause of evangelism within the state church.

It was no doubt a relief to Wiberg's restless soul when his physician prescribed a voyage to America. Ever since his resignation as pastor, in September, 1849, America had been in his thoughts. He had read Baird's book on religious liberty in the United States, had discussed emigration with friends at Hudiksvall, and had told his mother about his intended emigration, even before leaving for Stockholm.[18] In the capital city he listened to a series of lectures on America by Siljeström; in June, 1851, he pressed the hand of his friend Gustaf Palmquist, who was departing for the United States.[19] This incident is interesting and illuminating.

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[15] Wiberg's communication to the Uppsala Cathedral Chapter, November 8, 1850, in *Wiberg's lif och verksamhet,* 69–72.

[16] Diary, February 21, 1851. After his return from America, Wiberg served as editor of *Evangelisten* from 1856 to 1874. The files of this periodical are a mine of information on religious persecution, and they contain many letters from America.

[17] Diary, April 26, July 19, 1851.

[18] Diary, November 1, 1849; *Lif och verksamhet,* 63–64.

Toward the close of July, 1850, a party of about one hundred emigrants from Hälsingland were assembled at Gävle to take passage on a ship bound for America. Many of them were Hedbergians seeking an asylum where they could found a "true" Lutheran church, one in which the old church books could be used. Knowing the doctrinal slant of Wiberg, they sent a deputation to Stockholm, while they were waiting for the arrival of the vessel, to urge him to come to America and be their pastor. Unable to accept their invitation, he suggested Gustaf Palmquist, who promised to leave for America as early as possible the next year. Neither Wiberg nor Palmquist, it will be noted, had at that time gone over to the Baptist camp.[20] Six months before his departure for America Wiberg had written to Palmquist that it was not impossible that they might meet on the other side of the Atlantic, because he thought it likely that persecution for conscience' sake would continue in Sweden. A year previous to the writing of this letter the two men had studied the English language together.[21] Before they met in the land of religious liberty, the two men had been baptized into the new faith. Palmquist was baptized at Galesburg, Illinois, and Wiberg was immersed in the Baltic Sea at midnight on July 23, 1852, by Fredrik O. Nilsson, pastor at Copenhagen, whither Wiberg had accompanied the captain of his ship *en voyage* from Stockholm to Gothenburg.[22] On board ship between the two Swedish seaports Wiberg finished his manuscript on baptism and sent it from Gothenburg with a friend to a printer. On the seven weeks' transatlantic voyage he occupied his time in preaching to the emigrants and in reading *Pietisten* and Bogatzky on the remission of sins. The boat landed at New York on September 18, 1852.[23]

The years of Wiberg's residence in the United States are as much a part of the history of the Baptists in Sweden as of the Swedish Baptists in America. In fact, the foundations of the Baptist church in Sweden were laid in the United States; above all it was the financial support that Wiberg obtained from individuals and organizations that made it possible for the sect to increase from a score or more at the time he went to the United States to about six thousand in 1863. The products of Wiberg's pen and his other multitudinous activities suggest a man in the full bloom of physical vigor rather than one who had been virtually condemned by his physician.

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[19] Diary, June 17, 18, 19, 1851.

[20] Norelius, *Historia,* 1: 38–39. Norelius was a member of this emigrant party. See letters from Palmquist to Norelius, January 9, July 9, 1852, *Yearbook of the Swedish Historical Society of America,* St. Paul, 1923–1924, pp. 66–69.

[21] Diary, January 22, 1851; *Lif och verksamhet,* 96–100.

[22] Diary, July 22, 23, 1852.

[23] Diary, July 31–September 18, 1852.

In New York Wiberg received a cordial welcome from his co-religionists, who invited him to their homes and asked him to make addresses reciting his experiences and presenting accounts of religious conditions in his native country, although at that time his knowledge of the English language was very meager. Within a few weeks he was appointed colporteur among the sailors and immigrants by the American Baptist Publication Society, and in March, 1853, shortly before undertaking an extended tour of the western Swedish settlements, he was ordained into the ministry in the Baptist Mariners' Church. When he set out for the Mississippi Valley, on April 14, he was in possession of a free railroad ticket to Dunkirk and a letter of introduction signed by Ira R. Steward, pastor of the First Baptist Church of New York, which assured him of a friendly reception as a missionary preparing himself for service among his countrymen in America and Sweden.[24] At various places in Michigan, Illinois, Ohio, and Iowa he met Swedes, some of whom were affiliated with Baptist congregations, and he recorded that "it was touching to see the tall Swedes galloping on horseback on the plains of America — their new home."[25] At Rock Island, Illinois, he met Gustaf Palmquist, who traveled with him for a time; together they visited various places, among them Bishop Hill, where they heard Jonas Olson preach.[26]

After an absence of two months and nine days Wiberg returned to New York, on June 23, 1853, the day before the arrival of Nilsson, and the twenty-three Baptists who had left

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[24] "To all whom it may concern," April 11, 1853 (MS in Bethel Seminary).

[25] Diary, Burlington, Iowa, May 11, 1843.

[26] Diary, April 25, May 24, 1853.

Sweden on account of persecution. Wiberg remained in the United States over two years, residing the greater part of the time in Philadelphia, where he wrote two books expounding the Baptist doctrine and articles for *Aftonbladet,* the influential Stockholm daily.[27] He was the paid correspondent of this paper, and he valued the position highly because it enabled him to state his cause to the Swedish public and because through it he made contacts that might stand him in good stead in the years to come.[28] He also published tracts financed by the Baptist Publication Society, which he sent to Sweden in care of a ship captain.[29] Besides this, he wrote an appeal in behalf of the persecuted Baptists in Sweden, which was printed in several papers.[30]

Wiberg hoped to enlist the good offices of the government of the United States in behalf of his countrymen and with this end in view called on Secretary of State Marcy, who promised to write a letter to the American minister at Stockholm. The Illinois River Baptist Association prepared a memorial to President Pierce, but it was not sent because it was feared that it would be useless or injurious, since the Swedish government would naturally resent interference from a foreign government in a purely domestic affair.[31] At Washington Wiberg sought information in the General Land Office, probably for the benefit of prospective immigrants.[32]

In the midst of many duties the Swedish missionary found time for courtship. On May 5, 1855, he recorded in his diary that he had fasted and prayed all day in preparation for suing for the hand of Caroline Lintemuth, a woman five years his senior who had been brought up in the German Lutheran church. After several meetings, at which they knelt in prayer for divine guidance, he recorded, on May 23, "Sister Caroline promised to go with me to Sweden." A month later the happy man was appointed superintendent of colportage in Sweden at a salary of six hundred dollars a year, under the auspices of the American Baptist Publication Society.[33] Shortly after this appointment he penned *An Appeal to American Christians for a Swedish Mission Library*.[34] On the eighth of September, 1855, he sailed for Sweden with his bride of two weeks and arrived at Stockholm on October 7, where he was greeted not only by anxious Baptists but by warnings against heresy from both press and pulpit.[35] Three days later the first Baptist congregation in Stockholm was organized, with Wiberg and Carl Möllerswärd as superintendents. Wiberg had been present at the baptism, in the Baptist Mariners' Church in New York, of this sailor,[36] who was destined to play a prominent part in the development of the Baptist church. At the time of his return to his native land Wiberg was thirty-nine years old; the span of his life was long enough to enable him to be instrumental in effecting a profound change in the religious situation. His correspondence bears witness to the fact that he was not forgotten in America. He returned to the United States in the summer of 1863 and spent three years gathering funds for a proposed chapel and theological seminary and promoting missionary work in general.[37]

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[27] *Det kristliga dopet,* Philadelphia, 1854; *Är du döpt?* Philadelphia, 1855.

[28] Wiberg to Palmquist, April 27, 1855 (MS.)

[29] Diary, August 3, 1853; Wiberg to Palmquist, Philadelphia, April 27, 1855; Palmquist to Wiberg, New York, May 28, 1855.

[30] Diary, September 29, 1853; Nilsson to Wiberg, September 2, 1853; T. S. Malcom to Wiberg, October 29, 1853.

[31] G. S. Bailey to Wiberg, Pekin, Illinois, July 7, 1853; Diary, February 26, 27, 1855.

[32] Diary, March 1, 1855.

Wiberg's return inaugurated a new day for the Baptist cause; in 1857, 1,292 people were baptized into the Baptist faith, the greatest number in any single year, and from the various *län* in the years from 1856 to 1860 came reports of Baptist activity and conversions. This interest was due in part to the preparatory work of the *läsare* pastors and laymen and in part to the organizing ability of Wiberg and the ability and zeal of the colporteurs, who were financed in part by American money.[38]

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[33] Diary, June 21, 1855.

[34] Three-page pamphlet in Bethel Seminary.

[35] *Lif och verksamhet*, 123–124.

[36] Diary, February 3, 1853.

[37] He left Sweden on August 26, 1863, and sailed from New York on June 16, 1866. He was accompanied by his wife and daughter and by Captain Schröder and his family. *Lif och verksamhet*, 160–165.

[38] In the archives of Bethel Seminary are hundreds of pages of manuscript reports and letters of Baptist colporteurs written in the years from 1856 to 1898. From 1856 to 1865 the reports and letters were sent to the American Baptist Publication Society, and from 1866 to 1898 to the American Baptist Missionary Union,

The regions around Sundsvall and Örebro were fertile fields for sowing the doctrine, but many other places furnished converts. From Kristianstad, in Skåne, Anders R. Cervin wrote to Wieselgren in 1858 that the Baptist agitation was becoming steadily worse and that the Lutherans were flocking to hear Möllerswärd "as though they were insane."[39] The vicinity of Gothenburg was also worked by the apostles with fruitful results. Two colporteurs in the service of the Kristianstad Tract Society began to teach Baptist doctrines, and when they refused to abandon their new faith they were relieved of their duties.[40] One of the most effective preachers was Johannes Palmquist, a former cantor in the state church. He had heard Scott, Sellergren, Nyman, and Hoof and had spent the early years of his life in a parish where the *läsare* revival had taken deep root in spite of the efforts of the elderly pastor to kill it by his sermons and by his threats to invoke the *konventikelplakat*.[41] With growth in numbers the Baptists became bolder and erected churches and chapels. In 1858 a colporteur reported that with the opening of *läsare* churches in Örebro and Stora Mellösa in October, as many as eight hundred attended the services and that the authorities had to send six officers to protect them from enemies.[42]

During a period of ill health Wiberg wrote to Gustaf Palmquist beseeching him to return to Sweden to enlist in the cause, and for ten years after his return in the late summer of 1857 Palmquist was one of Wiberg's ablest lieutenants.[43] He became the head of a school for colporteurs that had been established the year before his return, and in this capacity he helped to mold the characters of many leaders, among them Carl G.

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to which organization the Swedish work was transferred. The Swedish original reports and transcripts of the English translations that were sent to the United States are in the collection. These documents constitute a mine of information relative to the progress of the Baptist cause and the persecutions that befell the colporteurs and their converts. Of lesser importance are the *Femårsberättelser* from the *län*, but they also reveal the hostility of the official and upper classes to the movement.

[39] MS.

[40] The colporteurs were J. A. Hanner and O. Lindegren. *Minneskrift till Kristianstads traktatsällskaps femtioårsjubileum*, 14–23.

[41] T. Truvé, *Det gamla vittnet—Johannes Palmquist*, Stockholm, 1902, pp. 5–19, 42, 46–47.

[42] *Evangelisten*, November 11, 1858. See also a letter from Norra Hälsingland in *Evangelisten*, May 15, 1857.

[43] *Lif och verksamhet*, 131–132.

Lagergren, who became a professor in the Swedish Baptist Seminary in the United States.[44] In 1855 the congregation at Stockholm opened one of the first Sunday schools in Sweden, with Per Palmquist, one of the triumvirate of brothers, at the head.[45] The Sunday school, which became one of the most important agencies of the Baptists, was an American importation, and the technique of conducting it was learned in the United States by the leaders who had lived there. Somewhat later a Sunday school paper, *Bikupan* (*Beehive*), was established, and from it many prospective emigrants learned in their most impressionable years about the wonders of the great country to the west. The organization of a conference of the Baptist congregations in June, 1857, was not only a great step forward in correlation but was indicative of growing strength.[46] It was now only a question of time until institutions of learning would be established and a press for the publication of papers and books could be financed.[47]

We have seen that Wiberg undertook a voyage to the United States in 1863 to raise money for a theological seminary and to recruit teachers for its faculty. Hampered by illness, he was unable to carry out all his plans, but he was fortunate in enlisting the services of Knut Oscar Broady, whom he had met in New York in 1855. Broady, whose name was Brundin before he came to the United States, had served as a Swedish navy officer, had emigrated to the United States in 1854, and in 1855 had been baptized in the Tabernacle Church in New York. He took his bachelor's degree at Madison University, in Hamilton, New York, in 1861. With the outbreak of the Civil War he volunteered his services to his adopted country and was mustered out as captain in 1864. After this he became a Baptist preacher. In recognition of his distinguished services his alma mater, then renamed Colgate University, conferred upon him the degrees of D.D. and LL.D. He yielded to the urging of Wiberg and in 1866 returned to Sweden to become the first president of Bethel Seminary, a position he filled with honor until 1916. He died in 1922 in his ninetieth year.[48]

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[44] Byström, *En frikyrklig banbrytare,* 143 ff.

[45] *Lif och verksamhet,* 124–125.

[46] The file of *Svenska baptistförsamlingars handlingar* from the first yearly conference in June, 1857, to the present is in the archives of Bethel Seminary. See also *Statistik öfver de förenade församlingarna af de döpta christna (baptister) i Sverige åren 1856–1868,* Stockholm, 1914.

[47] By the middle of the seventies the following papers were issued: *Veckoposten,* at Stockholm; *Tidens Tecken,* containing sermons and devotional articles, at Jönköping; *Bikupan,* a Sunday school paper, at Gothenburg; *Evangelisten,* a monthly containing stories and reports of church activity, at Stockholm; and *Folkvännen,* an illustrated magazine, at Gothenburg.

The roll of alumni and students of the seminary at Stockholm is just as interesting to members of Swedish Baptist congregations in the United States as to those in Sweden.[49] Many of the students emigrated to the United States and served as pastors; some of them, after serving apprenticeships in American free churches, returned to utilize their experience in Sweden and incidentally stimulated emigration. A number of the men on the faculty studied at American institutions of learning.[50]

Reference has been made to the financial and moral support from America that counteracted opposition and persecution in Sweden. In 1868 the Baptist mission received a valued recruit in the person of Theodor Truvé, who, after having served as Baptist preacher in Sweden for several years after 1857, took his degree at Madison University and returned to serve a large Baptist congregation at Gothenburg until his death in 1910. Besides editing the first Sunday school songbook and *Bikupan* and *Söndagsskolläraren* (*Sunday School Teacher*) and translating Sankey's songs, he visited the United States in 1883 and collected forty thousand crowns for a new tabernacle for his congregation.[51] The American Baptist Publication Society regarded the Swedish mission as its child and was especially proud of the fact that with reference to the admission of communicants to the Lord's Supper the Swedish Baptists accepted the American view rather than that of the Baptists of Great Britain.[52]

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[48] N. J. Nordström, *K. O. Broady. En levnadsteckning,* Stockholm, 1922; K. O. Broady, *Ax från ett 50-årigt arbetsfält. Predikningar, skoltal, söndagsskolföredrag och uppsatser. Samlade af en hans lärjunge,* Stockholm, 1916.

[49] *Betelseminariet 1866–1926. Porträtt och kortfattade biografiska uppgifter över lärare och elever samt ledamöter av styrelseutskottet. Utgiven till sextioårsjubileet den 7 Juni 1926,* Stockholm, 1926.

[50] Carl Erik Benander, a member of the faculty since 1891 and later president, holds the A.B. degree from Colgate University and honorary degrees from Colgate and Furman. John Alexander Edgren, who emigrated in 1862, returned to Sweden in 1866 with Wiberg and Broady and became a teacher in Bethel Seminary. He returned to the United States in 1870 and became one of the outstanding educators and leaders in the Swedish Baptist church.

[51] *Lif och verksamhet,* 180; Byström, *En frikyrklig banbrytare,* 266–267; Gustaf Landin, *Theodor Truvé. En minnesteckning,* Stockholm, 1917.

The Swedish Baptists had good reason for looking upon America as their benefactor; in a peculiar way America symbolized to them a great ideal. Unlike most of the secular papers and the papers sponsored by the state church, the Baptist papers regarded emigration as providential—as a part of God's plan to build up a kingdom in the New World, which would shed its radiance on other countries—and felt that it was a privilege for them to have a part in this grand scheme. In general, the free-church point of view was that emigration, rather than being a misfortune, was a positive blessing to Sweden. There were only a handful of Swedish Baptists in the United States before the Civil War, and their congregations were scattered and poor, but with the bitter memories of persecution in the homeland, they felt that the cause of religious freedom there was peculiarly their own. From their meager earnings they sent contributions to Sweden and adopted resolutions of sympathy and encouragement. From the Baptist congregation at Scandia, in Carver County, Minnesota, came the following message: "Dear brethren, we who live in this land of freedom are unable to understand fully the difficulties and hardships you have to endure."[53]

By the time the Baptist movement became of significance the uproar caused by the separatistic meetings of the Eric-Jansonists had subsided, for there had been wholesale migration to America. In some respects, however, the Baptists created a more serious problem for the authorities than the Eric-Jansonists, because they were better organized and had abler and more influential leaders. At the time of Wiberg's return to Sweden the law made little or no allowance for the consciences of those whose views were at variance with the "true evangelical doctrine," as the phrase ran in legal enactments. Every child had to be baptized within eight days, and if the parents refused to allow the performance of this sacramental rite, an action might be raised against them. Another statute required every confirmed subject of the king to partake of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper at least once a year in order to enjoy the rights of citizenship, to be admissible as a witness in a court of justice, to be allowed to marry, or to be privileged to enter any secular employment.[54] In 1851, as we have seen, the Society for the Advancement of Religious Freedom was organized at Stockholm, but the removal of legal impediments proved to be a slow process. One milestone was set up on the tortuous way in 1858, but until 1873 the Baptists were fettered by the baptismal and marriage requirements. Until that date there was no form of legal marriage for citizens unaffiliated with an ecclesiastical organization the pastors of which had secured permission of the king to perform the marriage ceremony, except marriage by a pastor in the state church. Since the Baptists could not allow their children to be confirmed, there was no legal marriage for them; but they searched the Scriptures and found that the New Testament laid down no hard and fast rules and that therefore marriage was a spiritual matter. Accordingly, at the first general conference of the Baptist congregations in 1857, it was resolved that Christian marriage was not dependent on the ceremony of the state and that if the parish pastors refused to read the banns or to perform the ceremony, this would not hinder Baptists from entering the marriage relation.

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[52] *Fortieth Annual Report of the American Baptist Publication Society, 1864.* The *Baptist Record,* Philadelphia, contains valuable material on the Swedish Baptists.

[53] *Bihang till Evangelisten,* April 30, 1858; letter from A. Norelius, Jefferson County, Iowa, and contributions from five congregations, in *Evangelisten,* October 15, 1857; *Minnesota Posten,* Red Wing, December 31, 1857.

From 1870 to 1873, when civil marriage was legalized, the children born of "Baptist" marriages were illegitimate in the eyes of the law.[55] An interesting case is that of a Baptist couple on the Island of Gottland. Theodore A. Hessell, a Baptist preacher, and his wife were married according to the Baptist ceremony and lived together for some years. When his wife claimed her inheritance, it was found that she had no legal claim to it because she was not legally married. Accordingly, the couple applied to the parish pastor to read the banns; when that gentleman proceeded to lecture them for living together outside the bonds of wedlock, Hessell waxed angry. He told the pastor that it was no affair of his and commanded him to do his duty by reading the banns and to put in his appearance at his residence at the expiration of the legal interval. After a month the pastor appeared to perform the marriage ceremony. Hessell ridiculed the whole affair as a farce and stood before the minister in his shirt sleeves, holding a shoe brush in his hand. He called his wife from the kitchen and refused to allow her to "fix up" for the occasion, so she took her "lawful" husband with flour on her hands and face. Not long after this incident the couple emigrated to America, where for a time Hessell was the editor of Baptist papers; later he turned skeptic and belittled all churches, as he had the marriage ritual of the state church.[56]

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[54] Lumsden, *Sweden: Its Religious State*, 7–8.

[55] Nordström, *En kulturbild*, 172–178; Per Palmquist, *En korsets härold eller Gustaf Palmquists lif tecknad af hans broder. Med förord och tillägg af A. Drake*, Stockholm, 1889, pp. 93–95.

Occasionally the Baptists got into trouble for encroaching on other prerogatives of the parish pastors, as in the case of the three persons in northern Skåne who were fined for digging a grave and burying a *torpare* without calling on the pastor to read the burial service.[57]

It was the question of baptism, however, that brought the greatest trouble to the Baptists. Until well along in the decade of the eighties there were instances of pastors, sometimes accompanied by officers of the law, going into homes and baptizing infants in spite of the protests of the parents.[58] A crown official in the decade of the fifties reported a case of such a compulsory baptism being followed by the emigration of the family and several friends, sixty or seventy persons in all.[59]

There were probably a number who deserted the fatherland on account of the legal obstacle to marriage. A liberal newspaper, commenting on an appeal to the king from parents in Örebro to allow their daughter, who had not been confirmed, to marry a Baptist shoemaker in Gävle, stated that if the petition were denied the couple would have to wait for a change in the law or, like so many others, emigrate or be married by a Baptist preacher and thus in the eyes of the law live in unlawful wedlock.[60]

[56] Theodore A. Hessell, *Farbror Slokums memoarer (Skildringar ur värkligheten)*, Chicago, 1909, pp. 168–174.

[57] *Veckoposten,* Stockholm, cited in *Skandinavisk Härold,* Omaha, May 15, 1871. The word "renter" is roughly synonymous with *torpare.*

[58] Wiberg's Diary, October 18, 1855; letters to *Evangelisten,* January 16, 1860; *Weckoposten,* March 9, 16, 23, 1887.

[59] *Femårsberättelse,* Wester-Norrlands *län,* 1846–1850, pp. 20–21.

[60] *Norrlands-Posten,* January 19, 1867.

Undoubtedly there were numerous instances when parish pastors were provoked to wrath and perhaps unbecoming conduct by the unreasonableness and insolence of Baptists. Whether the cause was reasonable or not, many parishes were torn with religious strife, friends became enemies, neighbor was set against neighbor and parents against children, and dissatisfaction with conditions having no relation to religion was augmented. Though not a major cause of emigration, ecclesiastical despotism did contribute to the total dissatisfaction, and in individual cases it was the spark that kindled the decision to emigrate. The newspapers reported many instances of Baptists being fined and imprisoned, and as late as 1870 even such prominent men as Wiberg and Per Palmquist were haled into court for turning people away from the Lutheran faith, although both were freed later.[61] At catechetical instruction in homes (*husförhör*) some pastors took occasion not only to condemn the Baptist doctrine but to reflect on the character of its professors, whereupon arguments were precipitated, which sometimes ended in disorder.[62] Pastors sometimes attended Baptist conventicles to heckle the preacher or to threaten him with the *konventikelplakat* or even to order him to leave the parish.[63]

In subsequent chapters reference will be made to later religious developments in Sweden. In this chapter an effort has been made to outline certain outstanding events in Baptist history as a basis for understanding the development of the Swedish-American church and the bearing of religious conditions on emigration. The personal experiences of many emigrants and the accounts of the persecution of the Baptists in Sweden in the Swedish-American Baptist press made the Swedish Baptists in America as zealous defenders of the faith as were their forbears. The Augustana Synod has recruited few members from the Baptist ranks.

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[61] For instances of persecutions, see MSS in Bethel Seminary; *Aftonbladet,* March 30, 1853; *Wäktaren,* October 13, 1855; *Evangelisten,* May 31, 1859; *Östgöten,* Linköping, October 14, 28, 1876; And. Åström, *Den religiösa rörelsens början och utveckling i norra Dalarne 1840–1890 eller baptismen i Dalarne,* Sundsvall, 1893, pp. 14–15; Byström, *En frikyrklig banbrytare,* 189 ff; *Lif och verksamhet,* 132.

[62] Letter from Skåne to *Evangelisten,* November 30, 1857.

[63] *Dalpilen,* Falun, July 17, August 21, 1854; *Bihang till Evangelisten,* September 30, 1858; *Evangelisten,* January 15, September 30, 1859; *Nya Verlden,* Gothenburg, January 30, 1873.

CHAPTER VI

THE MORMONS

IT IS singular that a country inhabited by a stolid, formal, and conservative people should have been so fertile a recruiting field for the apostles of radical religious sects. In every decade after 1850 the conservative, liturgical Church of Sweden saw great inroads made on its membership by Eric-Jansonists, Baptists, Mormons, Methodists, Mission Friends, Adventists, and Pentecostal Holiness adherents — none of them liturgical and all of them, with a single exception, departing widely from the Lutheran doctrine. A variety of explanations of this phenomenon are at hand, the most plausible of which we shall consider briefly. The Swedes have an inordinate fondness for everything foreign; to the Swede distance lends enchantment. Almost anything imported, whether it be material or ideal, is preferred to the domestic product. Even the national anthem is an importation. "A Swede who girds himself for combat with an enemy of Sweden first has to conquer a secret sympathy for the man," wrote the author of a brilliant aphoristic essay on the character of the Swedish nation. " But if it is a question of standing up for a friend of Sweden, then a certain inherent antipathy must be smothered."[1]

Moreover, there is a certain instability in the character of the Swede. In spite of inherent conservatism he is apt to adopt fads. The *bonde* may be slow to purchase the latest model plow, but he listens willingly and intently to the agent of a new religion. He loves company, but solitude is more often his lot, and on his voyage through life he is conscious of an undertow of pessimism. Seldom skeptical, in the German sense of the word, he severs the ties of his childhood religion and runs after strange and sometimes false gods. The empty parish churches of present-day Sweden are ample proof of this. The cantor sings the heavy, minor tunes of the hymns almost alone and the pastor preaches to empty pews, while a stone's throw away the pentecostal exhorter appeals to an audience that packs the meetinghouse.

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[1] Gustav Sundbärg, " Det svenska folklynnet," *Emigrationsutredningen,* Stockholm, 1911, bilaga 16.

The purveyor of Mormonism came with something new from across the Atlantic, and therefore to some it was greatly superior to the brand of religion taught in Luther's catechism or expounded from the parish pulpit. The Mormon Zion was somewhere afar off; the tabernacle must be greater and grander than the small parish church nestling among the pines on the shore of the little lake — an insignificant pond in comparison with Great Salt Lake.

No sooner had Brigham Young firmly established the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the " state " of Deseret than he sent out the elders to make disciples of the whole world. A bureau of emigration was organized, and the bishops selected sites for the new subcolonies that were to receive the converts from the old states to the east and from Scandinavia. The first Mormon missionaries began their activity in Sweden at about the time F. O. Nilsson was banished for disseminating teachings contrary to the " true evangelical doctrine." Indeed, the Mormon missionaries were sometimes mistaken for Baptist preachers, much to their advantage; they reaped where the Baptists had sown. They usually worked among the poor and the ignorant, the " dregs of society," as one hostile reporter put it, and they found the greatest response among the women.[2] They appeared in various guises, sometimes even as beggars. They usually approached the victim by talking about baptism, because they knew that much literature against infant baptism had been circulated. Their doctrine was described as closely akin to that of the church where they happened to be working, infant baptism always being rejected.

Perhaps there would be nothing in a Mormon discourse that might not be part of a Lutheran sermon, except the preaching of that doctrinal point and a savage attack on the parish pastor — a worshiper of Mammon as contrasted with the

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[2] *Femårsberättelser:* Westmanlands *län,* 1856–1860, pp. 10–11; Östergötlands *län,* 1856–1860, p. 3; Elfsborgs *län,* 1856–1860, p. 7; Malmöhus *län,* 1856–1860, p. 3; Örebro *län,* 1856–1860, p. 3; *sammandrag,* 1861–1865, p. 20; *Dalpilen,* April 22, 1865; *Wäktaren,* February 17, 1859; *Malmö Nya Allehanda,* cited in *Nya Wexjö-Bladet,* July 17, 1857.

Mormon apostle, who possessed neither scrip nor purse. By stages the speaker would bring in prophecies of the second coming of Christ to put fear in the heart and to prompt the question of how to escape from the wrath to come. The answer would be to flee to Zion, where there was an abundance of free land to cultivate while one awaited the coming of the Lord in power and majesty.[3] A Swedish Lutheran missionary in Utah wrote in 1895 that the converts to Mormonism did not come from the religiously indifferent element in the Church of Sweden. He met many who from childhood had had a more serious view of life than the majority; they had renounced worldly vanities and amusements; at one time they had been *läsare* and had sweet memories of the works of Ahlberg and Rosenius. Then came the Baptist colporteurs, and immersion followed. Lastly came the apostle of a new faith that had arisen on a new continent, who baptized them for the remission of sins and provided them with transportation to Zion; little did the neophyte know of the terrible hardships that awaited him on the long trek across the plains.[4] Then there was the type of convert, sometimes sincere and sometimes not, who seized the opportunity to leave the parish where his wicked deeds were known and begin anew. America was the promised land for the unregenerate as well as for the man who had got salvation.[5]

Mormon literature painted Zion in far more attractive colors than Joshua's returned spies painted the Promised Land to the children of Israel. A tract entitled *A Voice from the Land of Zion,* printed in Copenhagen in 1878, described a little world without political strife, without police, without murderers, and without war. Dust had accumulated on their muskets, and their swords were sheathed in scabbards. No sighs came from gloomy prison cells; no fetters were fastened to limbs; no poverty depressed the spirits. In Zion everyone was rich, because wealth was equally distributed and land, pasture, timber, and water power were at the free disposal of all. The inhabitants of this blissful world had not forgotten those who were in chains in other lands; they had established a "permanent fund" of several thousand dollars to finance the migration of the Saints in every country to the community of Saints in Utah.[6] The Mormon elders were past masters in tilling the soil of religious, social, and political discontent, and they were the emissaries of a religious and social system that furnished the means of bringing converts into the fold in the New World.

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[3] Gustaf Unonius, *Mormonismen. Dess upprinnelse, utveckling och bekännelse,* Stockholm, 1883, pp. 65–67. This effective and well-written anti-Mormon book of seventy-eight pages was based on the author's observations of the Mormons in the United States and on conversations with persons who had lived in Utah. See also Andreas Mortensen, *Mormonernas hemligheter. Werklighetsbilder från Utah efter egen iakttagelse. Öfversättning från norskan med författarens tillstånd,* Stockholm, 1887, pp. 206–211. This book was written by a former missionary to seamen in New York.

[4] Peter Peterson, "Our Utah Missions," *Augustana Journal,* Rock Island, March, 1895. See also P. Åslev, "Den gamles berättelse," *Ungdomsvännen,* Rock Island, April, 1904.

[5] *Femårsberättelse,* Westmanlands *län,* 1856–1860, p. 10.

The Mormon mission began in 1850 with the arrival in Copenhagen of Erastus Snow, one of the twelve apostles, and G. P. Dykes, both Americans, P. O. Hansen, a Dane, and John E. Forsgren, a former Swedish sailor. The first three remained in Denmark; Forsgren went to Gävle, where he had relatives and friends.[7] The following year the Book of Mormon was translated and an official organ established, which was published at Copenhagen under the name *Skandinaviens Stjerne* until 1877, when it became *Nordstjärnan.* In 1905 the publication office was moved to Stockholm. The *Book of Doctrine and Covenants,* a large edition of the hymn book, and the pamphlet, *A Voice from the Land of Zion,* were published in 1852. The greatest number of converts was made in the decade of the sixties, Skåne — probably because of its proximity to Denmark — contributing the most. By that time an effective organization was functioning. The country was divided into five conferences, with headquarters, respectively, at Stockholm, Sundsvall, Norrköping, Hälsingborg, and Gothenburg. Each conference had several branches, each presided over by a superintendent. Although the statistics are somewhat unreliable, it may be noted that those which have been compiled show that the number of Mormons in Sweden increased from 110 in 1852 to 2,183 in 1900; after that the number declined. According to the United States census of 1900, about 20,000 Swedes were living in Utah, but these were not all Mormons.[8] According to one writer, there were about 60,000 Scandinavian Mormons in the United States in 1910, of whom 30,000 were Danes, 20,000 Swedes (7,000 born in Sweden), and 10,000 Norwegians. These figures indicate the relative effectiveness of Mormon propaganda in the respective countries.[9]

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[6] "Pastor P. E. Åslevs uttalande," *Emigrationsutredningen,* bilaga 3, pp. 15–16.

[7] George A. Smith, *The Rise, Progress, and Trials of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints,* Salt Lake City, 1869, pp. 25–30; *Emigrationsutredningen,* bilaga 3, pp. 23 ff.

Although the propaganda of the Mormons proceeded without serious interference from the Swedish authorities, their church has not succeeded in obtaining official recognition under the law of 1873, which provides for such recognition if the ecclesiastical organization is deemed worthy of it in all respects.[10] This circumstance, however, has not prevented the missionaries from distributing literature, making house-to-house canvasses, holding public services, and organizing congregations. In the earlier years some of them met the fate of the *läsare* and Baptist colporteurs: their meetings were broken up by mobs, fines were assessed against them, and some were placed on board ships and deported across the sound to Denmark.[11]

Forsgren, the first Mormon missionary, met the fate of Nilsson. He was arrested at Gävle, brought to Stockholm, forbidden to preach, and ordered to leave for America on the first available boat. Upon returning to his lodgings one night, he was seized by four policemen and placed on board an American vessel lying in the harbor. The captain of the ship, however, refused to be a prisoner's guard and allowed the man to go ashore. When Forsgren related the story of his treatment to the editor of a Socialist paper in Stockholm, the latter seized upon the incident to "expose" the character of the government and to warn his countrymen that their freedom was endangered if such conduct were tolerated. When the ship put in at the Danish port Elsinore, Forsgren went ashore, but he was immediately taken into custody by the police and at their headquarters was confronted by the Swedish consul, who had received orders from the Swedish authorities not to allow him to land. When it was learned that Forsgren was in possession of an American passport, the police took him to the American consul; the latter referred the matter to the American minister, who had just arrived from Copenhagen. This official ruled that the police had no jurisdiction in the matter, since under the laws of his country no one could be arrested for his religious beliefs. Forsgren therefore remained for the time in Denmark, but later went to Utah.[12]

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[8] *Emigrationsutredningen,* bilaga 3, pp. 47–52.

[9] A. O. Assar, *Mormonernas zion. Studier och iakttagelser från saltsjöstaden,* Stockholm, 1911, p. 45. It should be remembered that there are Swedish Mormons in Idaho, Wyoming, Nevada, and some other states.

[10] *Emigrationsutredningen,* bilaga 3, pp. 24–28.

[11] *Göteborgs Handels- och Sjöfarts-Tidning,* May 11, 1852; *Aftonbladet,* March 15, June 9, 23, 25, July 22, 1853; *Fäderneslandet,* Lund, September 27, 1852.

Until the enactment of the first general immigration law in 1882, the government of the United States cannot be said to have had an immigration policy, although Chinese coolies had been denied admission in 1862. The federal government, however, did become uneasy over the growth of the Mormon sect — never popular among the gentiles — because of its systematic recruiting of immigrants. At length, in 1879, Secretary of State Evarts, in a circular to the American diplomats, called attention to the fact that the proselyting of Mormons was a deliberate and systematic effort to bring to the United States persons who were guilty of violating the law against polygamy, which had been sustained by the Supreme Court.[13] In reply to representations from the American minister at Stockholm, the Swedish government promised to take what measures seemed feasible to counteract Mormon agents, but with what results it is impossible to say. In spite of legislation designed to curb the activity of emigration agents, especially in giving false information and defrauding emigrants, emigration propagandists had practically a free hand throughout the years. After the enactment of the Edmunds-Tucker Law in 1887 the Mormon emigration organization is said to have been dissolved, but the law probably had no more effect than other federal legislation in the nineteenth century designed to exclude undesirable persons. Missionaries continue to be sent to Sweden even at the present time, and undoubtedly they carry out their instructions, whether they be to recruit emigrants or to serve otherwise. It has always been the policy of

[12] *Demokraten,* Stockolm, October 5, November 30, 1850. See also N. Boukersson, *Tre år i mormonlandet. Berättelser efter iakttagelser,* Malmö, 1867, pp. 18, 162–163.

[13] *Emigrationsutredningen,* bilaga 3, pp. 31–32.

the elders of Zion to maintain a nucleus of leaders, to organize congregations, and to build up a strong church in Sweden.

The emigration of the Saints was under the close supervision of the church, partly because the emigrants were in such economic circumstances that they could not have left without financial assistance and partly because under such supervision the desertions from the faith would be reduced to a minimum. Until recent years parties of emigrants left three or four times a year in the charge of missionaries, who met them at Copenhagen and conducted them all the way out to Utah. They were segregated on the boat and on arrival at New York were herded in separate railway cars and locked in. When they arrived at Salt Lake City, they were conducted to an emigrant house, from which they were distributed to different parts of the territory.[14] The church contracted with a certain steamship line for the transportation of the emigrants; when the agents appointed by the National Society against Emigration interviewed emigrants on transatlantic liners in 1907, they were unable to get in touch with Mormons because they traveled second class.[15] A woman representing the same society interviewed women emigrants at Liverpool, but was unable to find evidence that Mormon agents were conducting women to America. One result of the activity of the National Society against Emigration was the calling of P. E. Åslev to a pastorate in the state church in 1911 for the express purpose of counteracting Mormon propaganda.[16] Åslev had served as pastor in Utah under the auspices of the Augustana Synod and had written a report on Mormonism for the National Society, in which he suggested that the Swedish government banish all Mormon missionaries.[17]

It is only reasonable to suppose that a certain proportion of the converts became backsliders after they arrived in Utah; one writer puts their number as high as fifty per cent.[18] Some of the Swedes admitted that they had been deceived, but they said that they could do nothing because they were surrounded by spies and were without means to go elsewhere.[19] A few letters written by disillusioned converts were published in the papers of Sweden, but they were not numerous. The persons to whom they were addressed would be pretty sure to show them to a Mormon missionary, who would report the name of the writer to the authorities in Utah. Some of the letters would even be seized and sent back to be read aloud in the congregation. Moreover, many were unable to write, and some were ashamed to admit that they had left against the better judgment of friends and relatives.[20] One man wrote to his former parish pastor imploring forgiveness for his rashness and begging assistance to return to Sweden in order to expose the Mormon fraud. He wrote that he could not keep from weeping when he saw his little children surrounded by such terrible conditions, and he related a harrowing tale about the overland journey from Omaha.[21]

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[14] J. Stadling, *Hvad jag hörde och såg i mormonernas zion. Andra omarbetade och tillökta upplagan,* Stockholm, 1884, p. 28.

[15] *Emigrationsutredningen,* bilaga 3, pp. 45–47.

[16] Per Pehrsson, *Hälsning från Augustana-synoden framförd vid allmänna svenska prästföreningens möte i Jönköping den 31 aug 1910,* Gävle, 1911, p. 10.

[17] *Emigrationsutredningen,* bilaga 3, pp. 10–22.

[18] Mortensen, *Mormonernas hemligheter,* 210–211.

In 1867 a book purporting to counteract the Mormon propaganda was published at Malmö. The author of it had never been a Mormon, but he had been induced to emigrate to Utah by favorable letters from his two sisters, by two books about California and the Mormons, and by his wife's leaning toward the new faith. While they were encamped on the Missouri River his wife announced that she was going to leave her " heathen " husband. Leaving his wife and three children, the author returned to Sweden in 1864, where he wrote the book. It gives a good description of the voyage and overland journey, the customs of the Mormons, and their government, as well as of the tragic schism in his family. Chapters of it appeared serially in *Svenska Amerikanaren,* a Chicago weekly.[22] The author met Forsgren, the former missionary in Sweden, in Utah, where he bore the reputation of a rascal among the faithful.

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[19] Stadling, *Mormonernas zion,* 36–37.

[20] Boukersson, *Tre år i mormonlandet,* 132–134.

[21] *Malmö Nya Allehanda,* printed in *Tidning för Wenerborgs Stad och Län,* November 4, 1864; *Dagens Nyheter,* Stockholm, February 17, 1866.

[22] Boukersson, *Tre år i mormonlandet,* cited above. P. A. Thomasson of Salt Lake City replied to the articles, claiming that Boukersson was prejudiced, never having been a Mormon and having lost his wife, who married another man. *Svenska Amerikanaren,* July 31, 1867.

The Mormon policy has been to "Americanize" the immigrants as soon as possible, and for this reason there have been few Swedish Mormon churches. Apostle Anthon H. Lund, president of the European mission from 1893 to 1896 and an energetic proselytizer in the Scandinavian countries, was ardently opposed to any manifestations of the Swedish national consciousness. He revealed the antipathy that Danes have toward Swedes, a phenomenon that has precipitated strange events in European history, and he was perfectly willing that the more numerous Danes should dominate. This policy predominated until 1904, when the Swedes, in defiance of the leaders of the church, held a picnic on the Sabbath. For this crime the men who had made the arrangements were called before the authorities. With their backs against the wall, some of the oldest Swedes in the church demanded separate Swedish services. The result was an order declaring them to be apostates. But this was going too far. The demand was made that the order be rescinded, and when this was refused, the Swedes from all over the state of Utah assembled in a public meeting, and resolutions, the like of which had never before been seen in Mormondom, were adopted. In the face of a threat of refusal to pay tithes, permission was granted for the establishment of a separate department in the church with Swedish preaching. For once, the Norwegians took the part of the Swedes against the Danes. But this was in the year preceding the dissolution of the union between Sweden and Norway — fortunately for the Swedes in Utah. The affair was called the "Swedish Insurrection."[23]

Although some of the Swedish-American churches have maintained missions among the Mormons, the results have been meager.[24] In 1882 the Augustana Synod, having had the matter under consideration for ten years, sent two missionaries to the field to organize congregations and to establish schools, but the discouragements attendant on cultivating the stony soil have made it difficult to keep any man there for any considerable length of time, and there have been long vacancies. After twenty-seven years the only tangible results were seven congregations, with a total communicant membership of two hundred and ninety-four, and six churches. Other Lutheran synods have worked the field with the same discouraging results.[25]

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[23] Assar, *Mormonernas zion,* 45–49.

[24] Fredrick Franson represented the Mission Friends in 1879, and Ellen Modin had some financial support from the American Congregationalists. See letters from Franson to *Chicago-Bladet,* November 7, 14, 1879, and from Josephine Princell, *Chicago-Bladet,* August 29, 1885.

Mormonism, like Eric-Jansonism, is little more than an episode in the history of Swedish immigration. Coming as early as they did, however, the Mormon missionaries no doubt helped to swell the discontent with religious and other conditions in the Old Country; moreover, they disseminated knowledge about America, especially about the far West, just at the time that the fabulous stories about the discovery of gold in California were firing people's imagination about a country where nothing was too impossible to happen. To a certain extent, however, Mormonism and Jansonism discredited the *läsare* and the Baptists among those who made no distinction between the religious movements.

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[25] *Bethania,* Burlington, Iowa, August 15, 1882; correspondence from S. M. Hill, Salt Lake City, in the *Workman,* Pittsburgh, August 30, 1883; J. A. Krantz, in the *Workman,* January 9, 1890; E. Edman, in *Augustana och Missionären,* Rock Island, February 18, 1885; P. E. Åslev, in *Augustana,* April 8, 1897; *Minneskrift med anledning af Augustana-synodens femtioårige tillvaro,* Rock Island, 1910, pp. 100–102; J. Telleen, "Missionen bland mormonerna," *Korsbaneret,* 1885, pp. 84–94; J. A. Krantz, "Utah-missionen," *Korsbaneret,* 1887, pp. 65–79.

CHAPTER VII

THE MISSION FRIENDS IN SWEDEN

WITH the opening of the decade of the seventies the free-church movement entered a new phase. Until that time the dominating personality had been Rosenius, who, in spite of dissatisfaction with conditions in the state church, was opposed to separation and held firmly to the belief that the ancient institution could be reformed from within. Although his methods were distasteful to the majority of the parish pastors, not a single one of them could cite an example in his sermons or writings of divergence from established Lutheran doctrine on any major point. Nevertheless the gulf between the state church and the free-church parties was constantly growing wider, a tendency that was revealed in the National Evangelical Foundation; and when in 1868 death removed the compelling personality of Rosenius, the editorship of *Pietisten* and the management of the Foundation were entrusted to other hands.

It is a fact of momentous importance that the years of greatest emigration — the period from 1865 to 1895 — also wrought the greatest change in religion. Of still greater significance is the fact that when the greatest of the religious revivals swept over the country, in 1876 and 1877, thousands of young men and women in their best years, unable to obtain employment in their own overpopulated land, swelled the throng of fortune hunters who crowded emigrant ships until in 1882 emigration from Sweden reached the highest figure it attained before or since. Moreover, a terrible famine, resulting from successive crop failures in 1867, 1868, and 1869, caused Småland, the province of the "preaching sickness" and the paradise of the *läsare,* to contribute more than double as many emigrants in proportion to population as did any other division. Jönköpings *län,* the capital of which, Jönköping, was called the "Jerusalem of the *läsare,*" contributed to the stream of emigration from 1841 to 1875 a volume that was not equaled by any other *län*. During these years emigration robbed the *län* of about one-fifth of its population.

Many of the Swedish religious leaders in the United States were born in this region and had studied in the institutions founded by Fjellstedt and Ahlberg and in Bethel Seminary. E. August Skogsbergh, who became known in America as the "Swedish Moody," although born in Värmland, was one of the apostles sent out from "Jerusalem." He was well acquainted with several of the Jönköping preachers, including Samuel A. Johansson and Svenning Johansson, whose sermons were read by Mission Friends in America in the columns of their papers.[1] None of these men had the "preaching sickness," but in earlier years they had preached to the humble folk in their homes.[2] They made many converts, and "Jönköping Christians" became a term of very special connotation both in Sweden and in the United States. By 1876 the mission chapel in Jönköping was so inadequate that a new structure seating five thousand was built. Children of Sunday school age prayed publicly for the forgiveness of their sins and for the conversion of their sinful parents.[3] Mission chapels were erected in every part of the *län*, and missionary societies and "sewing societies" were organized.[4]

Throughout the years under consideration the influence of America was constant, but never was it so important as from 1870 to 1890, when Sunday schools patterned after those in America were set up in parish after parish and Sunday school papers, filled with stories about the wonderful land in the West, were distributed to the children, many of whom were later to seek their fortune in this saga land.

A keen student of sociological and religious phenomena has this to say of the situation:

> The decade of the eighties was a time of jubilee for the free-church movement in Sweden. Various factors contributed to this. There were many young people in the country, in spite of the fact that emigration swept away hosts of them. Industrialization had pro-

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[1] Skogsbergh, *Minnen,* 59 ff.; Johansson, *Ur minnet,* 245 ff.; *Chicago-Bladet,* 1877 ff.

[2] Johansson, *Ur minnet,* 35.

[3] Correspondence from Jönköping to *Zions Banér,* Keokuk, Iowa, March 15, 1877, and to *Chicago-Bladet,* June 8, 1877.

[4] *Femårsberättelse,* Jönköpings *län,* 1870–1875, p. 5.

ceeded during the prosperous decades that preceded. With the breaking up of the villages caused by the parceling out of land, a great change in the life of rural communities took place. There was a depressing isolation, and unhappiness increased. With the great improvement in means of communication, there was a heavy migration from the farms to the cities and factories. These migrants were without homes, and meetings and religious congregations served as substitutes. Unemployment and lowered wages contributed to poverty and want. The labor movement was still in its infancy. The masses were politically ineffectual, and their interest in politics was very limited. Popular education was still in swaddling clothes. Amusements were few. It is true that there was drinking, dancing, and card-playing in cottages and at festive occasions, but theaters were expensive. There were no moving-picture theaters with brilliant electric lights and colored posters; neither did athletic contests attract hundreds and thousands as they do at present. The free religious meetings were all the more attractive. Over them swept a breeze from the great land in the West, the wonderful America, for which multitudes longed and to which sister, brother, or sweetheart had already gone.[5]

In the decade of the seventies the Sunday school was only in its infancy, but the free-church people had heard how much this institution had done for the American children and to it they attributed no little credit for the remarkable power of assimilation the western republic had demonstrated. America was also contributing a spirit of optimism to religious life by substituting the melodies of Sankey's hymns for the heavy solemnity of the hymns sung in the parish churches. Before going as a missionary to Algeria, Erik Nyström translated these songs into Swedish, and many Swedes now living still remember how they were sung in religious meetings in chapels and in the homes of the highborn, as well as in those of the lowly.[6] Religion in Sweden became democratized. The stiff, formal services of the parish churches were supplemented by informal meetings, where people jostled one another to gain entrance to churches and chapels and where cries of joy and despair and weeping interrupted the exhortations of the preacher.[7]

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[5] E. H. Thörnberg, "Pingstväckelsen och Sveriges religiösa folkrörelser," *Svensk Tidskrift,* 1926, pp. 298–310.

[6] E. H. Thörnberg, "D. L. Moody," *Svenska Dagbladet,* Stockholm, May 31, 1928.

[7] Skogsbergh, *Minnen,* 96–100.

According to the American revivalists, conversion is an act of the will (a view directly contrary to the Lutheran), and songs, hell-fire preaching, the mourners' bench, and other means were employed to bring the sinner to repentance. The state church did not understand nor come into contact with the lower middle class, to whom these things appealed most, but the free churches were more successful for adopting American methods. The falling away from the old church was especially noticeable in the rural districts, where it had had its strongest hold.

It was at the very culmination of the great religious revival that the great personality and intellect of Paul Peter Waldenström diverted it into a channel very different from the one constructed by Rosenius. Like his great teacher and predecessor, Waldenström was born in Norrland, at Luleå, in 1838; for almost a half century he was easily the greatest free-church leader and possibly the greatest religious force in the country. It was through Waldenström that the inner mission movement took a special doctrinal position. On the whole, however, he was very conservative and was bitterly opposed to modern Biblical criticism, although he was more critical and intellectual in his exegesis than was Rosenius. If any proof were needed of Waldenström's orthodoxy during the earlier years of his career, it would be sufficient to cite the fact that in 1862 he was called to a professorship in the Augustana Theological Seminary at Chicago, only two years after the Swedish-American Lutherans had seceded from the General Synod because of what they regarded as the doctrinal laxity of that body. Rosenius urged him to accept the call, and Waldenström was sorely tempted to do so, but his father's objection weighed more heavily than his own desires. As in the case of Fjellstedt, one can only speculate as to what would have been the future of the Augustana Synod if the man to whom the doors of many Augustana churches were closed on his visit to the United States some twenty-five years later had decided to cast his lot among his countrymen in the New World.[8] The man who signed the call, T. N. Hasselquist, later president of Augustana College and Theological Seminary and editor of *Augustana,* did all in his power to warn the Swedish-Americans against this "archheretic."

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[8] P. Waldenström, *Nya färder i Amerikas Förenta Stater,* Stockholm, 1902, p. 267.

As editor of *Pietisten,* Waldenström for a time followed in the footsteps of his predecessor Rosenius, being even more ardent and radical in defending the work of the lay preachers. Rosenius had been opposed to the administration of the Lord's Supper except in church, but his successor not only defended the administration of the sacrament at conventicles but himself officiated. At the third general missionary meeting in Stockholm in 1868 — the year of Rosenius' death — Waldenström stated publicly that in view of the fact that the inner mission had no support from the ministers, it could get along without them. Replying to the criticisms of the one-sided preaching of the colporteurs, he said that they should be judged by their fruits. He also took the position that chapels were needed because most of the parish churches were closed to lay preachers.[9]

Waldenström soon gained a reputation as a master of pulpit oratory, but it was the publication in *Pietisten* in 1872 of his famous sermon on the text for the Twentieth Sunday after Trinity that not only made his name a household word but precipitated a religious controversy that shook the religious foundations of Sweden and split Swedish congregations in America. The country was flooded with pamphlets defending and attacking his new doctrine of the atonement. Both camps freely cited Luther's writings in order to confound their antagonists, and pastors and laymen studied the Bible as never before to settle their minds on the deep theological theory of Anselm with reference to the ways of God to man. "What is written?" became the burning question of the day. Waldenström's students pressed him to cite scriptural passages proving that through the death of Christ on the cross God had become reconciled; thereupon the teacher waxed angry and replied that it was written everywhere. But his students were not to be silenced by a professorial fiat, and their importunity impelled Waldenström to search the Scriptures. To his astonishment he found nothing to substantiate the traditional theory. The upshot was the publication of the controversial sermon.[10]

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[9] *Wäktaren,* September 7, 1868.

[10] Skogsbergh, *Minnen,* 80–81.

The main points of the discourse may be summarized as follows. The fall of man had occasioned no change in the disposition of the Creator, and it was, therefore, not the wrath of God that blocked the way of salvation but the sinful nature of man. In consequence it was man who needed reconciliation, but not a reconciliation for the purpose of propitiating God and making him once more merciful; on the contrary, the supreme sacrifice of Christ had cleansed man of sin and presented him acceptable unto God. Three years later Waldenström advanced a pace farther by declaring that the world was not justified by the death of the Savior.[11] He could not conceive of God as the object of the atonement, because God is love and His nature is immutable. To assert that it was through the expiatory death of Christ that God first became merciful was to accept the heathen idea of a God whose wrath must be appeased by sacrifices. The root and basis of the atonement was love, not the wrath of God. Waldenström presented God as a loving Father, Who on His own initiative had sent His messenger in order that men might return to Him. The fact that men fell into sin in the Garden of Eden did not alter God's disposition toward men in the least.

The Waldenströmian doctrine of the atonement, therefore, comes to this: God's hatred of evil is essentially only another manifestation of His love for good; Jesus Christ was born of the Virgin Mary and died on the cross for the sins of the world.[12] When the cobwebs of theological controversy are brushed aside, Waldenström's doctrine and that of the state church are seen to differ only in emphasis and in terminology. To say that Waldenström taught a rationalized doctrine of the atonement is merely to say that it appealed to a type of mind different from that which could not accept it. Waldenström's fundamentalism and that of his followers was just as pure and uncontaminated as the body of doctrine embalmed in the symbolical books of the Lutheran church. In fact, fundamentalism was more thoroughly ingrained in the membership of the

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[11] A comparison and contrast of the teachings of Rosenius and Waldenström with reference to the doctrine of the atonement is presented in Carl Olsson, *Försoningen enligt C. O. Rosenius och P. Waldenström,* Stockholm, 1928. A brief and sympathetic sketch of Waldenström is found in Ekman, *Inre missionens historia,* 713–754.

[12] P. Waldenström, *Genom Norra Amerikas Förenta Stater,* Stockholm, 1891, pp. 395–397.

Mission Covenant in Sweden and the United States than it was in the Augustana Synod and in the state church.

Waldenström's "heresy" made him the target for bitter attacks not only from the pastors in the state church but from leaders in the free churches as well; but through it all he stood firm and met all antagonists with the query, "What is written?" He had taken a leading part in the National Evangelical Foundation and it still claimed his affection, in spite of its high-church tendencies, but his "heretical" opinions on a major point of doctrine lost him his position as provincial delegate. Schism developed in many congregations, and many of his followers were in favor of organizing a separatist church, because many of them felt themselves spiritually homeless as a result of the hostile attitude of the old church. Finally, after eight years of doctrinal controversy, the Swedish Mission Covenant (*Svenska Missionsförbundet*) was founded on August 2, 1878, at a free-church meeting in Stockholm composed of delegates from mission societies. Waldenström was not present at this meeting, because he still entertained hopes that he could remain in the National Evangelical Foundation. However, when he saw that to do so was impossible, he joined the Mission Covenant and until his death in 1917 was its greatest member.

The relation of the Swedish Mission Covenant to the state church is so unusual that it deserves some consideration, especially in view of the fact that it is intimately connected with the religious development of Swedish America. In common with Rosenius, Waldenström had little faith in the state church as such and he could be just as caustic in dealing with it as his predecessor had been. He was historically minded enough, however, to recognize it as an institution closely bound up with society and having such multitudinous ramifications that it was the duty of all believers to use their influence to make it a faithful steward of the things entrusted to it. Branded as a fomenter of schism, Waldenström was big enough to see the good qualities of the established church. He denied that the Mission Covenant was unscriptural and separatistic, and he tormented his enemies with such questions as these: Is the work of the free churches schismatic in the sense that that term is used in the Bible? Is it separatistic according to the terminology of the Apostles' Creed and the Augsburg Confession? He answered his own questions by affirming that the church was the communion of saints and of believers and that in so far as the state church had departed from the Biblical conception of the church it was separatistic, whereas the free-church movement represented a return to the true church. What the free-church movement set itself against was the worldliness of the church, and to assert that this was to oppose the church was to identify it with worldliness and to write a testimonial of its character less worthy than it was willing to indorse.[13]

As a result of Waldenström's attitude toward the Church of Sweden, we have the curious paradox of the members of the largest free church retaining their membership in it, taking part in its affairs, and electing the parish pastors. The Mission churches increased in number, and the Covenant functioned as a church body, but its members remained in regular standing in the parish churches. The activity of the Mission Covenant soon transcended that of the National Evangelical Foundation; missionaries were sent to the heathen, schools and hospitals were founded, its printing press turned out books, papers, and pamphlets, and it became a factor to be reckoned with in politics. The influence of the Covenant showed itself in the election to the *Riksdag* of Waldenström, E. J. Ekman, and other prominent free-church men. Rosenius had been the religious type par excellence; in Waldenström were combined the qualities of the religious, the intellectual, and the practical man. The practical side of the great Mission Friend was shown in his attitude toward compulsory military service, which many of his co-religionists opposed on conscientious grounds, asserting that military service was demoralizing to most young men because it removed them from the influence of the home environment and exposed them to the temptations of drinking, gambling, and other vices.[14] Waldenström, on the other hand, accepted the world as it was. He said that if the day ever came when young men were slaughtered like cattle or trampled upon like worms for lack of proper military preparedness, it could not be laid to his negligence as a member of the *Riksdag*.[15] His position was most disappointing to thousands of his friends, who thought it strange that he did not understand the great difference between the sacrifices that the rich and the poor were called upon to make on the altar of the god of war, and that he was unwilling to raise his voice against the days of torture young men had to endure under the tyranny of overbearing officers.[16]

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[13] Ekman, *Inre missionens historia*, 746–748.

[14] *Hemlandsvännen*, Stockholm, January 22, 29, April 2, 1891, May 25, 1892; letter from Svenning Johansson to *Hemlandsvännen*, December 30, 1892.

Waldenström's conservative character and churchliness made him somewhat skeptical of temperance organizations, and in this he shared the point of view of most of the pastors in the state church. As a member of the *Riksdag* and as a speaker and writer he was always the friend of the temperance movement, but he did not believe that organizations could take the place of the family and the church as agencies for promoting a better communal life. He did nothing to hamper the work of temperance societies; indeed, he advised his followers to join them; but in his judgment very little could be accomplished without the obedience of the heart engendered by faith in the Redeemer of mankind.

The scope of Waldenström's influence was greatly extended through his writings. In addition to publishing a number of books and pamphlets, he contributed regularly to several religious journals and newspapers. Before the organization of the Mission Covenant he was a frequent contributor to *Nya Posten,* the organ of the National Evangelical Foundation; with the establishment of *Hemlandsvännen* in 1878 as the organ of the Covenant, many articles and communications appeared over the familiar signature "P. W." *Hemlandsvännen* was succeeded by *Svenska Morgonbladet,* a daily published in Stockholm, to which Waldenström contributed articles that kept thousands of persons in touch with the activity of the Covenant. He also found time to write many articles for the two leading organs of the Swedish Evangelical Mission

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[15] N. P. Ollén, "De frikyrkliges politiska ansvar," *Frikyrkomötet 1924 förhandlingar och föredrag,* Uppsala, 1924, p. 176; P. Waldenström, "Fredsvänner och försvarsvänner," *Hemlandsvännen,* October 13, 1892.

[16] Letter from J. Martenson to *Chicago-Bladet,* September 15, 1885; letter from "S. J." to *Hemlandsvännen,* October 27, 1892; Nyvall, *Min faders testamente,* 286–287; N. J. Nordström, *Frikyrkomötet,* 1924, pp. 166 ff.

Covenant in America, the *Missionsvännen of Chicago* and the *Veckobladet* of Minneapolis.

Unlike so many of the free-church people, Waldenström was not an enthusiast about America and things American, but naturally he was interested in the progress of the Evangelical Mission Covenant among Swedish-Americans, the members of which regarded the Augustana Synod in much the same light as they had the Church of Sweden. The polemical sermons preached from many Augustana Synod pulpits attacking the Mission Friends as followers of the "archheretic" Waldenström caused them to appeal to their great leader for a reply to these strictures, as well as to the attacks upon him in *Augustana,* the official synodical organ. In a letter to the editor of the *Chicago-Bladet,* in which he referred to the fact that he had received several letters from America asking him to reply to his critics, Waldenström stated that he had no desire to participate in religious controversies in America and that he knew it to be the policy of the *Augustana* to misrepresent him and to blacken his character. He dismissed the matter with the assertion that the Augustana Synod must be rotten if such methods had to be employed.[17]

The controversy that raged between the Augustana Synod and the Mission Covenant will be discussed more fully in another connection. It is sufficient to say here that on his three visits to the United States Waldenström found the Augustana pastors and laymen coldly aloof, although in the years intervening between his first visit in 1889 and his second in 1901–02 the bitterness had been somewhat allayed. Of the men on both sides of the controversy, some, like Hasselquist, had passed away, and advancing age had mellowed others. Carl A. Swensson, however, the dynamic president of Bethany College in Lindsborg, Kansas, then in the prime of life, sought to revive the controversy by acrimonious articles in the press, to which he was a frequent contributor, and by the ill-advised publication of a pamphlet that reflects no credit on the man.[18]

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[17] Letter dated at Gävle, May 20, 1879, in *Chicago-Bladet,* June 20, 1879.

[18] The reader who has the inclination to delve into this phase of history will find the essential points on both sides in the following: Waldenström, *Genom Norra Amerikas Förenta Stater* and *Nya färder i Amerikas Förenta Stater;* E. Norelius, *Lefnadsteckning af T. N. Hasselquist,* Rock Island, n. d.; and Carl Swensson, *Om P. Waldenströms nya färder i Förenta Staterna. Ett svaromål,* Chicago, 1903.

Strangely enough, if one is to judge from the tone of the religious press in Sweden and of the official organs of the Augustana Synod in America, the *Augustana* and the *Lutheran Companion,* it appears that the present activity of American Methodist, Baptist, and Mission Covenant bodies in Sweden is resented far more by the Swedes in America than by the Swedes in their own country. Religious tolerance has permeated the established church and the free churches across the water far more than it has the kindred denominations on this side. But it was not always so.

In 1884 it was proposed to hold a meeting of the World's Evangelical Alliance at Stockholm, a proposal that met the approval of King Oscar II and many of his subjects, but a communication from Archbishop Sundberg, signed by eight of the twelve bishops and eleven theological professors in the universities and addressed to the General Conference of the Evangelical Alliance, made it clear that the ecclesiastical authorities looked with disfavor upon it. The state church was hard pressed at the time by the growth of dissent, which had been aggravated by the visit not long before of M. W. Montgomery of Minneapolis, superintendent of the work being done among the Scandinavians under the auspices of the American Home Missionary Society. In Sweden, through letters of introduction from E. August Skogsbergh, Montgomery came in contact with such prominent free-church men as Waldenström, E. J. Ekman, N. P. Ollén, Mission Friends, and K. O. Broady, a Baptist. Upon his return Montgomery published a book entitled *A Wind from the Holy Spirit in Sweden and Norway,* which was in the nature of an official report and was undoubtedly intended to furnish the basis of an effort to proselyte in Sweden.[19]

The great change that has taken place in the religious atmosphere of Sweden during the fifty years of the life of the Swedish Mission Covenant was revealed at the celebration of its fiftieth anniversary in Stockholm in June, 1928. On this occasion a communication from Archbishop Nathan Söderblom extending felicitations and good wishes was read. The fact that the liberal and catholic Söderblom now sat in the seat once occupied by a Reuterdahl and a Sundberg is eloquent witness to the progress of Christian fellowship in the land of the midnight sun. If the parish pastors today do not always work in harmony with the free-church pastors, there is at least a minimum of friction. There is little distinction between the doctrines preached in the state church and in the Mission Covenant. The sermon delivered in the free-church chapel is similar to one delivered in the parish church. The Waldenströmian doctrine of the atonement has won a large number of people, including the younger pastors; it is seldom that the old Lutheran doctrine is heard, if indeed the atonement is mentioned at all.[20]

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[19] The book was published by the American Home Missionary Society in New York in 1884. See especially page 68. Consult further M. W. Montgomery, *The Work among the Scandinavians, Including the Swedes, Danes, and Norwegians,* New York, 1888, and G. H. Gerberding, *Life and Letters of W. A. Passavant, D.D.,* 2d ed., Greenville, Pennsylvania, 1906.

On the other hand, the Mission Covenant has lost some of the spontaneity that it had at its inception. There is no mistaking the heritage of Rosenius and Waldenström and the strong influence of America, both on the sermon and on congregational singing, but, as in America, institutionalism has made great inroads. It is no longer an unheard-of event for a Mission Covenant preacher to take orders in the state church. Probably one reason why so many Mission Covenant preachers formerly emigrated to the United States was the fact that the free-church preachers had no social standing comparable to that of the parish pastors, who were cultured men and civil officials.

The Swedish Mission Covenant presents the interesting phenomenon of a religious movement deeply rooted in dissent and dissatisfaction with the established church and departing somewhat from it doctrinally, yet remaining an integral part of it, being sufficiently powerful to leaven the whole ecclesiastical lump. There are ardent Mission Friends who never darken the door of a parish church on a Sunday morning but who are nevertheless on intimate terms with the parish pastor and would look with consternation upon the disestablishment of the old church. Moreover, by retaining their membership in it, the Mission Friends are able to counteract the influence and votes of the element which is hostile to all organized religion and which by its votes can, and sometimes does, control the parish council and dictate the choice of pastor. The teachings of the free churches and the liberalism of the educational institutions have so watered the milk of Lutheran doctrine that the Augustana Synod pastor who is acquainted with the facts finds it difficult, if not impossible, to call the historic Swedish Lutheran church the mother of the Augustana Synod. As recently as 1908 the Mission Friends in America sent congratulations to Waldenström on his seventieth birthday, commending him for his loyalty to the Word of God; and at the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the establishment of the Swedish Mission Covenant at Stockholm in 1928 messages were delivered in person by Swedish-American pastors, and written messages also brought assurances that they were still brethren in the faith.

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[20] D. H. D. Janson, "Erfarenheter från min prästerliga tjänstgöring," *Julhälsning till församlingarna i ärkestiftet*, 1923, pp. 76–85.

CHAPTER VIII

THE METHODISTS IN SWEDEN

BY 1878 the new religious movements had cut four fairly well-defined channels, represented by (1) the National Evangelical Foundation and (2) the Mission Covenant, both founded on the Augsburg Confession; (3) the reformed Baptist church; and (4) the reformed Methodist church. The last of these, an American product both as to methods and instruments, was washed into Sweden by the deluge of Anglo-Saxon devotional literature and sermons from the pens of such men as Spurgeon, Moody, and Wesley. The virtual expulsion of Scott in 1842 had put an end to the Wesleyan mission in Stockholm and blotted out the compelling personality of the man who loved and understood the Swedish people so well. He had no desire to foment schism or separatism, and the present Methodist church in Sweden neither can nor does claim him as its founder. Scott is the progenitor of the Augustana Synod rather than of the Swedish Methodist church in the United States, although the former organization has never understood nor acknowledged its debt to the great leader of the *läsare,* who gave to it so many of its pastors and members.

Just as Rosenius and the Baptist leaders could not have carried on their work without the sustenance furnished by the American dollar, so would it have been impossible to lay the foundations of Methodism without subsidies from across the water. In fact, Methodism in Sweden has leaned more heavily on the American arm of the Christian church than has any other sect.

Methodism in Sweden may be said to have had its origin in the conversion and activity of Olof Gustaf Hedström, though mention may be made in passing of the interest in Methodism displayed by C. G. Wrangel. For a time Wrangel was pastor of the Swedish Lutheran church in Philadelphia; in 1768 he returned to Sweden to become court chaplain to King Adolph

Frederick. While in the United States he had read Wesley's writings and had made the acquaintance of a Methodist preacher, and he had come to look with sympathetic interest on Methodism. Upon his return trip to Sweden he had the pleasure of meeting the founder himself in England. The foundations of Swedish Methodism were not laid by Wrangel, however, nor by Joseph Rayner Stephens nor George Scott.[1] This achievement may be credited to Hedström, although the structure was not built by his hands but by men who had heard the gospel preached from his lips so effectively that they had dedicated their lives to the cause he represented.

Olof Gustaf Hedström was born in Småland on May 11, 1803. He was for a time a tailor but in 1825 he enlisted in the crew of a frigate bound for South America. In New York, however, the expedition was abandoned and the crew mustered out. Hedström was stranded, having been robbed of his money, but his trade as a tailor saved him from poverty. He made the acquaintance of people who directed his life into useful channels. His marriage to an American woman, Caroline Pinckney, was shortly followed by his conversion to Methodism. So zealous was he for the new cause that he returned to his native land in 1833 to bring to his aged parents the glad tidings of a new life in Christ. His brother, Jonas J. Hedström, accompanied him on the return to America and became the founder of Swedish Methodism in the West. Two years after his return Olof Gustaf was admitted as a pastor to the New York Conference of the Methodist Episcopal church, in the service of which he served English-speaking congregations for ten years. Through the importunity of friends Hedström was induced to take up the work that not only gave him the distinction of being the founder of Swedish Methodism in the United States and indirectly the father of Methodism in Sweden but caused his name to be blessed by thousands of Swedish immigrants who, at a time when kind words and friendly advice were worth more than silver and gold, met the Methodist missionary for the first time as they landed at Castle Garden, gateway to the "Promised Land." From 1845 to 1875, with the exception of three years when his health was poor, Hedström was pastor of the Bethel ship in New York harbor.

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[1] J. M. Erikson, *Metodismen i Sverige. En historisk-biografist framställning af metodistkyrkans verksamhet i vårt land. Med porträtt af samtlige predikanter och vyer af de flesta kyrkor,* Stockholm, 1895, pp. 4–8.

For a number of years the Bethel ship was the only public place of refuge and rest where Swedish immigrants could receive both the spiritual consolation and the advice that they stood in need of before undertaking the long and trying journey to the interior. Upon the arrival of an emigrant ship, Hedström was on hand to welcome the passengers. He invited them to join in a session of prayer on deck and assured them that he was at their service and that the Bethel ship was open to them for religious services and rest. He pointed out to them that they were destined to become citizens of the great American republic, the best country in the world, and that since the nation's foundations were grounded on the Bible, it behooved them to become familiar with its contents and to pattern their lives after its teachings. So saying, he presented them with copies of the Sacred Book with the compliments of the American Bible Society.

Unlike his brother Jonas, Olof Gustaf Hedström was not a violent sectarian. Naturally he wished to recruit members for the Methodist church, but he was far more concerned with bringing men and women to a realization of their sins in order that they might find the peace that he had found. He was a warm admirer of Luther, but he could not countenance the dead formalism of the Lutheran churches.[2] He thought that the *läsare* were too close to the state church — that their road to heaven was too broad, as witnessed by their use of tobacco, *brännvin,* and beer.[3] On his second and last visit to his fatherland, in 1863, Hedström preached at many places; even the pulpits of several parish churches were open to him; thus it is evident that the pastors took a quite different attitude toward him than toward Baptist preachers, and that his own attitude toward the old church was somewhat different from theirs.[4]

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[2] In a letter to T. N. Hasselquist, editor of *Hemlandet* (January 24, 1856), Hedström replied to the former's articles against Methodism. In rebuttal Hasselquist defended the Lutheran church but not the connection with the state, which he blamed for many evils in Sweden.

[3] This furnishes the theme of several letters from Hedström and Albert Ericson printed in the Methodist paper *Sändebudet* (Rockford and Chicago) in 1865, 1866, and 1867.

Hedström's missionary activity in New York soon bore fruit abroad. The first Methodist missionaries in Sweden had been converted through his efforts, but it was not until some years after their advent that Methodism was organized.[5] The most outstanding among them are Albert Ericson and Victor Witting. The former, the son of a Lutheran pastor in Stockholm, served for a time as a Methodist pastor in the United States; in 1866 he went to Stockholm to prepare himself for the duties incumbent upon the president of the newly founded Scandinavian Methodist Seminary at Chicago, to which position he had been elected. His sermons made him so popular that his followers petitioned the mission board in New York to commission him a regular pastor in the capital city. The request was granted, but before the notice of appointment reached Stockholm, Ericson had left for America. Just at this time, however, in the summer of 1867, another of Hedström's disciples arrived in Sweden to visit relatives in Skåne.

Witting was born at Malmö on March 7, 1825. As a boy he read James Fenimore Cooper and a history of the United States. When in the summer of 1841 the papers noted the departure of Gustaf Unonius and a small party of " better folk " for the New World, he decided to follow their example. In 1845, in order to cross the waters between the old country and the new, he became a sailor; two years later he gave up this hazardous career at New York. He had the adventurous instinct possessed by so many of his countrymen, and during the next twenty years his travels took him to Chicago, Bishop Hill, and California. It is a strange coincidence that four men destined to become leaders in Swedish Methodism — Victor Witting, Eric Shogren, Peter Newberg, and Peter Challman — should have contracted the "gold fever" and have become members of a party of twelve Swedish fortune-hunters. Two years among the California miners brought Witting many disappointments but no nuggets, and after his return to Illinois fortune still withheld her favor. The miscarriage of plans left him penniless in New York, where he fell under the influence of Hedström. In 1855 Witting entered the Methodist ministry, and the remainder of his long life was spent in the service of the church as pastor, editor, and author. He became the editor of *Sändebudet,* the first Swedish Methodist paper in the United States, which was established at Rockford, Illinois, on July 18, 1862.[6]

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[4] A biographical sketch of Hedström by H. Olson appears in Norelius, *De svenska luterska församlingarnas och svenskarnes historia i Amerika,* 1:16–23, to which are appended some personal recollections of Norelius. An obituary, signed " N " (Norelius?), appears in *Minnesota Stats Tidning,* St. Paul, May 31, 1877, and in *Sändebudet,* Chicago, May 20, 1877. A long article by Albert Ericson, a Methodist pastor in Brooklyn, in the latter paper, May 29, 1877, gives the essential facts in his career.

[5] Erikson, *Metodismen i Sverige,* is as yet the best history. It may be supplemented for the more recent years by Ekman, *Inre missionens historia,* 673–683, 1074–1085.

Witting's visit to Sweden inaugurated ten years of active ministry, during which the Methodist church was organized. At Copenhagen he met Bishop Calvin Kingsley, who was on a missionary tour that included a visit to Stockholm. He induced Witting to meet him in the Swedish capital, and there he persuaded him to accept the appointment of superintendent of all the Methodist missions in Sweden.[7] Witting returned to America to get his family, and from November, 1867, until 1876 he devoted himself to the cause of Methodism in Sweden.

When Witting began his work the Methodists were without formal organization, but, like the Christians in the apostolic age, met as the spirit moved them in small groups for prayer and edification. The first Methodist congregation was organized by 57 persons at Stockholm on January 8, 1868. When the time came to organize the Swedish Methodist Missionary Society, on September 17, 1868, there were 7 organized congregations, 15 "preaching places," 424 members, and 5 Sunday schools with 34 teachers and 354 children.[8] The following January a monthly, *Lilla Sändebudet,* appeared; after a time it became a fortnightly publication; and with the beginning of

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[6] Victor Witting, *Minnen från mitt lif som sjöman, immigrant och predikant, samt en historisk afhandling af metodismens uppkomst, utveckling, utbredning bland svenskarne i Amerika och Sverige från dess början, 1845, till dess organiserande i konferenser, 1876 i Sverige och 1877 i Amerika,* Worcester, Massachusetts, 1902; A. Schön, "Victor Witting," *Prärieblomman,* 1907, pp. 201–211; Erikson, *Metodismen i Sverige,* 42–56.

[7] Letter of J. J. Durbin, corresponding secretary of the mission bureau at New York, April 14, 1868, to Witting at Gothenburg, conferring the appointment. Witting, *Minnen,* 536–537.

[8] Erikson, *Metodismen i Sverige,* 63–64.

1881 it was succeeded by a weekly with the name *Svenska Sändebudet.* The Methodists in Sweden, like their American co-religionists, laid great emphasis on the Sunday school, and a Sunday school paper, *Söndagsskolklockan,* appeared contemporaneously with *Lilla Sändebudet.* Pamphlets and books, including a hymn book, appeared in rapid succession from the newly established press.[9]

Both hostile and friendly observers reported the spread of Methodism. An official report from Örebro *län* for the years from 1866 to 1870 stated that the schismatics had recruited a new sect, the Methodists, who had built a church at Örebro. Methodism, the report continued, had been imported from America, and it drew its recruits from among the lowly and simple folk. The Methodist preachers were said to be somewhat similar to the colporteurs of the National Evangelical Foundation in their manner of speech. The reporter thought that their sermons might be of some benefit to the simple and less enlightened, but he doubted whether a rational man who had listened to one sermon would desire to hear another.[10] On his visit to Sweden in the summer of 1870 Hasselquist found that Methodism had made fairly good progress. In Karlskrona, he wrote, there was an attractive church, and the unusual circumstance that it was heated in winter was an additional attraction.[11] He attributed the growth of the sect mainly to the fact that a large number of Methodist books and tracts had been translated into Swedish and had been put into circulation by colporteurs.

The Methodist missionaries were victims of the same kind of opposition and persecution as was meted out to the *läsare* and the Baptists. Mobs disturbed their meetings and threatened the lives of the leaders, and officials interrupted meetings by reading notices forbidding conventicles; one preacher, Johannis Nilsson, served a prison sentence of eleven days for having defied the parish authorities. To add to their discomfiture,

[9] Files of *Lilla Sändebudet,* from January, 1869, are in the library of Wesley Academy and Seminary at Evanston, Illinois. The periodical was published at Gothenburg.

[10] *Femårsberättelse,* Örebro *län,* 1866–1870, p. 3. See also *Femårsberättelser,* 1871–1875, for the following *län:* Blekinge, Halland, and Värmland.

[11] *Det Rätta Hemlandet och Augustana,* November, December, 1870; September, 1873.

Wäktaren published a letter from George Scott opposing the Methodist propaganda, in which he said that American Methodism had nothing in common with the Wesleyans and that his attitude toward separatism in Sweden had not changed. The Methodists retorted that Scott was not well informed.[12] Scott's letter was naturally pleasing to the parish pastors, among whom he still had several friends, who could not fail to observe that the methods and polity of American Methodism were leagues removed from the brand of Methodism that emanated from the chapel at the Stockholm Haymarket. Moreover, a number of the early Methodist preachers in America and Sweden preached perfectionism, although it was not a part of the doctrine of their church; this, of course, was directly contrary to Lutheran doctrine, the adherents of which confessed every Sunday morning that they were "poor, miserable sinners, conceived and born in sin" and worthy of eternal damnation. The Baptists, too, contributed their share to the opposition and could no more countenance the sprinkling of infants by Methodist hands than by unregenerate Lutherans.

The year of Witting's departure for America, 1876, is a landmark in the history of Methodism, because it was then that the yearly conference was organized at Uppsala. Sweden was divided into districts, with a presiding elder, later called district superintendent, over each. At the same time the regular pastors were accorded the right of performing marriages under the law of 1873. It was not until some years later, however, that the members of Methodist congregations were granted royal permission to withdraw from the parish churches.[13]

The Methodists in Sweden have displayed the same fondness for organizations as those in other countries. A theological seminary was established at Örebro in 1873; in 1883 it was moved to Uppsala, where it remained until 1924. It is now housed in attractive quarters in Gothenburg. The Swedish Methodist church is under the supervision of an American bishop, whose seat is in Stockholm. Although most of the congregations and institutions are self-supporting, the American dollar is still a factor in promoting their activity.

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[12] Erikson, *Metodismen i Sverige,* 79–80, 90–91.

[13] At the second yearly conference a committee appointed to secure permission to withdraw from the state church reported that in an audience with the minister of ecclesiastical affairs they were informed that nothing could be promised for the present. *Protokoll, fördt vid Metodist-Episcopal kyrkans i Sverige andra årskonferens, som hölls i Karlskrona 13–18 juni 1877.*

Notwithstanding the intensive work of pastors and missionaries and the special emphasis on the Sunday school, the Methodist church has not been very successful in recruiting members in the northern kingdom. It has the polity of the American Methodist church, which is too institutional to appeal to the average Swede, and it is less democratic than the state church. The Methodist ministers are appointed by the conference, whereas the parish pastors are elected by local voters. Furthermore, Swedish Methodism, as distinguished from American, is too heavy, and certain ecclesiastical terms, such as "presiding elder" (*presiderande äldste*), too foreign for the Swede.[14] It is probable also that a people who find much enjoyment in a pipe, a snuff box, or a bottle are not comfortable in the presence of preachers who hint rather strongly that these do not enhance their prospects of joining the heavenly throng.

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[14] The official statistics for 1927 give the following membership in the free churches: Mission Friends, 113,954; Baptists, 62,085; Methodists, 16,576; Free Baptists, 5,000; Adventists, 1,900; Mormons, 1,842; Swedenborgians, 450. *Svenska kyrkans årsbok,* 1929, p. 180.

CHAPTER IX

RECENT MOVEMENTS IN SWEDEN

A DISCUSSION of the origin and development of Eric-Jansonism, Baptism, Mormonism, Methodism, and the Mission Covenant does not include consideration of all the religious movements and sects that sprang up in Sweden during the years of emigration and revealed the strong influence of the United States. The immediate preparation for the Holy Pentecostal sect, the most rapidly growing body in Sweden today, is connected with a new wave of Anglo-American influence beginning in the eighties.[1]

Religious history can furnish some strange contrasts. In America the Methodist church is one of the strongest bodies in membership and influence, whereas in Sweden on its fiftieth anniversary it numbered not more than eighteen thousand members. The people who once thronged its churches to hear powerful preachers did not enlist as members. In America the followers of Aimee Semple McPherson are very few, but in Sweden they are counted by the tens of thousands.[2] "The Swede is reticent, phlegmatic, and even melancholy," writes a student of Swedish society, "but he can be frank, happy, and vociferous. Sometimes he displays the latter traits under the influence of alcohol and religion." Attendance at the morning service in the state church in Adolph Frederick parish in Stockholm and at the evening service in the Philadelphia church of the Holy Pentecostals (*Pingstvänner*) a few blocks away would confirm this observation. A student of church history might even wonder if the days of the "preaching sickness" had not returned. He would find no difficulty whatever in securing a good seat in the parish church, but if he arrived at the Pentecostal sanctuary a few minutes before the services were scheduled to begin, the usher would probably be obliged to carry in a chair for him. If he came early enough to have an opportunity of studying the types of individuals that made up the congregation, he would find that young housemaids and factory girls constituted a large proportion of it, but he would also see a goodly number of nurses, clerks, teachers, and laundresses. Among the men, who are not so numerous, proletarians predominate. Men and women who have been healed of disease through faith offer up prayers of thanksgiving, accompanied by moans, groans, sobs, and ecstatic cries from the congregation. Some even " speak with tongues."

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[1] Emanuel Linderholm, *Pingströrelsen i Sverige. Ekstas, under och apokalyptik i nutida svensk folkreligiösitet,* Stockholm, 1925, 18–19. In this book a distinguished professor of church history in Uppsala University discusses in considerable detail the influence of American religious movements in Sweden.

[2] Thörnberg, "Pingstväckelsen och Sveriges religiösa folkrörelser," *Svensk Tidskrift,* 1926, 298–310.

This new wine of faith was imported into Sweden from Norway in 1907, but it was a California product; the advance agent was a Swedish-American, Fredrik Franson, who has been called one of the most remarkable Swedish religious leaders who ever lived and is said to have had a more far-reaching influence than most of them.[3] Franson was the John the Baptist who prepared the way for Aimee Semple McPherson. As a preacher of the gospel he visited Sweden for the first time in 1881. His personality was projected into a society agitated by several cross currents. The Waldenströmian doctrine of the atonement had unsettled many minds, and rationalism and socialism had crept into upper and lower circles, although the rural population was still held in bondage by the old generation. Swedish-America was working a mighty transformation through personal contacts and literature. America had already given birth to the religious cult that sprang from the brain of the prophetess Mary Baker Eddy, and it was through Franson that the Swedes became acquainted with a diluted form of Eddyism. Christian Science, however, has not attracted nearly as many members in Sweden as it has among the Swedes in America.

The people who flocked to hear the evangelist from America saw a small, dark man with a pale complexion, dark hair, and flashing eyes, who preached on the second coming of Christ with such eloquence that they expected that the heavens would open the next instant and they would behold the Lord of Glory in all His majesty. On his travels, which included visits to Europe, Asia, and Africa, he carried neither purse nor scrip. His property consisted of a worn Bible, a plain costume, a satchel, and an umbrella. Property in a world about to pass away was only an encumbrance that would slacken his mad pace to bring the gospel to the people of every land before the imminent crack of doom. Churches, organization, and language meant little to him. He had only a smattering of English, German, and French, but that mattered none, for he could pray so fervently in the language of his boyhood parish that his hearers would burst into tears.

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[3] Linderholm, *Pingströrelsen,* 19–20.

Franson was born on June 17, 1852, in Nora, Västmanland, of God-fearing parents. He attended school and showed special aptitude for linguistics. In 1869, when he was seventeen years of age, his parents fell victims to the "America fever" and settled on the prairies of Kansas, a state then attracting many Swedish immigrants. Within a short time the family moved to Nebraska, not far from Omaha. After a serious illness, from which he recovered very slowly, Franson was converted, in 1872, to the Baptist faith, and he at once appeared in the rôle of evangelist. In 1875 he went to Chicago, where he became a disciple of Moody and adopted his and Finney's methods: the mourners' bench, after meetings, and instant conversion; in 1879 and 1880 he worked as a missionary among the Mormons in Utah; later he extended his activity to other parts of the country. He made his appeal especially to the Baptists, the Methodists, the Mission Friends, and others who did not hesitate to step over denominational boundaries in order to join together in free Biblical congregations — in that way foreshadowing *Helgelseförbundet* (the Covenant of the Sanctified), founded in Sweden in 1887, which, according to its constitution, is not a "church" but a nonsectarian missionary society, supported by free churches, young people's societies, and other organizations interested in the cause of inner and foreign missions; membership is open to the "children of God."[4] In April, 1881, Franson arranged a "prophetic conference" in Chicago, at which the discussions centered around the second coming of Christ. In the autumn of that year Franson visited

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[4] *Svenska kyrkans årsbok*, 1929, pp. 175–176.

Sweden, where he was already known through his connection with the Chicago conference.

The immense crowds that gathered to hear the eccentric and inspired Swedish-American missionary were the harvest of the religious revivals that had preceded his advent. During the two years of his stay in Sweden he visited more than half of the cities and towns and everywhere aroused interest, some of it hostile. The law of 1858 forbidding preaching that might foment schism or provoke disrespect for public worship was invoked against him, but he continued to preach and appealed to the king, who overruled the local authorities. On one occasion, when an attempt was made to use violence against the little evangelist, he produced his American citizenship papers and uttered the following warning: "If any one causes me injury, he will have to reckon with fifty million American citizens who are behind this paper." Awed by the strange tongue, the mysterious document, and the calm bearing of the man, the mob "loosed him and let him go."[5]

After Franson left Sweden he visited Norway, Denmark, Germany, Switzerland, Italy, Asia Minor, and Russia. Upon his return to Sweden at the close of the decade he recruited young men and women for missionary work in China under the auspices of the China Missionary Alliance, which was organized by him in Germany. When he returned to the United States in 1890, he was more than ever imbued with the missionary spirit. He organized and became the general director of the Scandinavian Missionary Alliance, with headquarters in Chicago. Through A. B. Simpson of New York, Franson was commissioned to recruit missionaries for the field in China under the auspices of the Christian and Missionary Alliance, and in 1892 the indefatigable Swede took passage for Sweden. He gave courses in Bible instruction in several places, with the result that twenty young men and women consecrated themselves to the cause. He also organized the Swedish branch of the Christian and Missionary Alliance. In 1894 he embarked on a missionary tour that kept him away from his beloved America for six years and did not end until he had circum-

[5] A sympathetic account of Franson's activity in Sweden is found in Ekman, *Inre missionens historia,* 844–852.

navigated the globe. When he again returned to America, in July, 1908, he had large plans for the future, but on August 2 he found that death is no respecter of faith healers, even though his last words were: "God is my doctor." [6] Franson played an important part in the recent religious development of Sweden. Under his influence many men and women were led into a way they followed to the end of their days. Among his disciples was Miss Nelly Hall, who had been a leader in *Helgelseförbundet* until she joined the throng of immigrants to America.

Another leader whose methods were similar to Franson's was John Ongman, the founder of the Örebro Missionary Society (*Örebro Missionsförening*), established in 1892. Ongman was converted to the Baptist faith in 1864 and, after some four years of missionary activity, emigrated to the United States in 1868. He completed the course of study in the Baptist Theological Seminary in Chicago and was an energetic pastor in Chicago and St. Paul until he returned to his native land in 1890 to assume the pastorate of the Baptist congregation in Örebro, one of the centers of free-church activity. Here he patterned his work after American methods, organizing young people's societies, founding Bible schools, and holding religious conferences. He was instrumental in organizing, as a foundation for the Örebro Bible School, the Missionary Society, under the auspices of which missionaries were sent to evangelize the fatherland and the heathen. There was considerable opposition to the employment of female evangelists, but Ongman defended them on the ground that their work was a part of God's plan for the evangelization of the world, since the men were not responding to the demands of the time. Like Franson, Ongman's disciples emphasized the imminent second coming of Christ, prophecy, the baptism of the Holy Spirit, and "speaking with tongues." In conservative Baptist circles opposition to his methods and teachings became so strong that in 1897 Ongman resigned the pastorate of his church and accepted the charge of the newly organized Philadelphia congregation, which became the largest free church in Örebro. Since that time Ongman and his disciples have been entirely independent of the Baptist church in Sweden.

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[6] Josephine Princell, *Missionär Fredrik Fransons lif och verksamhet*, Chicago, 1909, and "Missionär Fredrik Franson," *Skogsblommor*, 1909, pp. 42–64; F. Franson, *Kort öfversigt öfver Uppenbarelseboken i dess ordningsföljd, utgörande det hufvudsakliga af ett föredrag hållet i Norrköping den 7 febr. 1882*, Kristinehamn, 1882, *Bibelns lära om Antikrist*, Chicago, 1886, and *Profeterande döttrar. Några ord angående kvinnans ställning till evangelisationsarbetet*, Stockholm, 1897.

It would serve no purpose here to outline the inception of the work of the Free Baptists, the Seventh-day Adventists, and the Salvation Army; but the part of the free churches in furthering the cause of temperance deserves more than passing mention.

In a previous chapter the inception of temperance work under the direction of George Scott and Peter Wieselgren has been considered. Although their work was hampered by opposition from certain elements in the state church, it bore an unmistakable Lutheran stamp and was tempered by nationalistic characteristics. Nevertheless, Anglo-American influence was strong. Wieselgren translated and published a dissertation from the pen of Benjamin Rush, an American physician, on the injurious effects of alcohol. The statistician Karl G. af Forsell, who was in contact with the Anglo-American world, in 1830 published an account of the newly founded temperance societies in the United States, in which he proposed the organization of similar societies in Sweden. The following year were published translations of six classical temperance lectures by the Congregational pastor Lyman Beecher.[7] The visit of the Presbyterian Robert Baird to Sweden upon invitation of Scott and the publication of his book under the patronage of King Charles John has already been referred to.

During the decade of the seventies the temperance movement entered a new phase, far more radical and American in method and spirit. Many of the *läsare* had regarded *brännvin* as a necessity; they saw nothing wrong in the moderate use of alcoholic beverages. The temperance agitators, however, were absolutists, and they greatly extended the list of the enemies of mankind. The organ of the Mission Covenant, *Hemlandsvännen,* even launched a series of editorial attacks upon the use of tobacco in any form.[8] The man who pioneered the new crusade was Eli Johnson, an American disciple of

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[7] E. H. Thörnberg, "Svenska folkrörelser och emigrationen," *Det Nya Sverige,* Stockholm, 1914, pp. 228–243.

[8] See especially the files for 1891.

Moody. Although his speeches on the tour of 1876 were made in English, his interpreter was able to translate his fiery eloquence so effectively that his campaign was a triumph. In 1879 the Independent Order of Good Templars was imported through the instrumentality of Olof Bergström, a Baptist preacher who delivered lectures in America to raise funds for the war against alcohol in his native land.[9]

This order, founded in the United States in 1851, had a thoroughly religious ritual; it grew rapidly in Sweden, but it was opposed by a certain type of minister on the ground that a secret order would undermine Christianity. It was attacked on identical grounds by Swedish-American Lutheran pastors, who placed on their index secret orders of every stripe. In Sweden the Masonic order was in good standing with state church pastors, but it was probably only because its members were recruited from the "better class," whereas the Templars appealed to the working people.[10] Independent of this order was the Order of Templars, founded in the United States in 1883 by a Swedish-American, Adolph Peterson, and introduced into Sweden the following year. The newer fraternity was similar to the older, except for the fact that it was less secret. Since that time the number of temperance societies has multiplied; whether called the "Blue Ribbon," the "White Ribbon," the "Verdandi," or what not, they are all engaged in the work of banishing King Alcohol from the realm.[11]

That the later temperance movement in Sweden had a strong religious color is attested by the fact that among temperance speakers were such men as K. O. Broady, Theodor Truvé, Carl G. Lagergren, who became a Baptist leader in the United States, and Peter Waldenström; but for a variety of reasons it became increasingly secular. The last quarter of the nineteenth century was the heydey of the free churches, with the state church decidedly on the defensive; but, by a curious twist of fate, during the present century the advantage has swung over to the ancient institution.

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[9] Letter signed "Svensk," in *Svenska Tribunen*, Chicago, July 14, 1880.

[10] Article by Ernst Beckman in *Stockholms Dagblad*, June 23, 1883.

[11] Under the auspices of *Nationaltemplarorden* is published *Nykterhetsfolkets kalender*. This annual publication contains articles and statistical data with reference to the work of the various temperance societies.

In an address before a labor gathering in Stockholm on January 1, 1900, Knut Wicksell, a docent at Uppsala and a distinguished economist, outlined the plan that was destined to be followed in the succeeding years. He advised the workingmen not to leave the state church, because he saw in a modernist cultured ministry not bound to a creed the best bulwark against the free churches. The free churches are individualistic and their voluntary membership makes insistence on doctrinal conformity possible. Not only are the free-church pastors their brothers' keepers, but they are sworn enemies of rationalism. With the passing of the years the free churches have become more institutional, and thus the gulf between them and the established church has narrowed. The old church is imposing; her pastors command respect, not only by virtue of their position as government officials but also because of their social and academic standing. They are graduates of universities, whereas the free-church pastors are products of seminaries, whose buildings are unhallowed by hoary traditions and whose degrees do not have the same value in the educational and social market.

Parents who have not darkened the portals of the parish church since the day of confirmation call on the parish pastor to officiate at the baptism and marriage of their children, and they know that the church bell will toll the Sunday following the reading of the burial services over their remains. Moreover, members of the free churches, to prevent Wicksell's advice from being effective, avail themselves of the privilege of voting in the elections of pastors to supply a makeweight against the votes of men and women whose conception of religion is leagues removed from theirs. Sweden, therefore, presents the curious paradox of an established church profiting by two mutually hostile movements: rationalism and fundamentalism. It is the fear of the fundamentalism of the American "free churches" that unites the intellectuals and the working class in a defense of the state church, although as individuals they are conspicuously absent from its services. This situation explains why the Augustana Synod has recruited very few members among the immigrants since 1900 and why those who are faithful to the "old gospel" affiliate with the Mission

Friends, the Baptists, the Methodists, and other groups known as " free churches " in Sweden.

Notwithstanding the fact that the position of the state church is undeniably stronger than it was a generation ago, the problem of " empty churches " is a lively topic of discussion in Sweden, although conditions are different in different provinces.[12] Probably the chief reasons for this situation are the growth of rationalism and the alienation of the working people, who have felt that the old church has not understood their problems and has not only held aloof from their cause but has on the whole opposed it. The ministry of the old church is by nature and training unsympathetic with the point of view of the common man and unresponsive to the *Zeitgeist,* as the history of the revival and temperance movements reveals. The sermons are usually over the heads of the people, and in the intercourse between people and pastor the latter is unable to overcome the influence of his student days, when he lived a life isolated from the other classes. Among the younger pastors there is an element working for the disestablishment of the church as the only solution of the problem, and in the literature of the time there is a religious trend that is heartening to some souls; but whatever may be the outcome, the American quota law is a guarantee that the reverberations in Swedish-America will be slight.[13]

[12] Sven Sundberg, " Kyrkan och männen," *Svenska Dagbladet,* Stockholm, March 18, 1928.

[13] P. H. Nehleen, " The Religious Trend in Modern Swedish Literature," *Augustana Quarterly,* July, 1929, pp. 217–235.

CHAPTER X

THE STRUGGLE FOR RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

WHATEVER contributed to the sum total of dissatisfaction, whatever weakened or severed the ties that bound a person to the fatherland, was a cause of emigration. It is by no means purely accidental that the confluence of various forms of dissatisfaction with the state church coincided with the beginnings of emigration from Sweden. The rationalism of Voltaire and the pietism of Puritanism and Methodism joined forces in jarring loose the moorings that hitherto had held the individual fast. Dissenters brought persecution, persecution brought indignation, indignation brought agitation, and agitation brought reforms — and also emigration. One cannot escape the conclusion that religion played an important rôle in stimulating the desire to emigrate; and if the student of emigration wishes to understand why the Swedes in America have turned away in such large numbers from the church of the fathers in favor of other denominations or have held aloof from all church connections, he will find it profitable to study religious conditions in the homeland.[1]

Lack of leadership in the Church of Sweden caused it to sink pretty low about the middle of the nineteenth century. This decadence and the religious persecutions must be taken into account by the student who aspires to an understanding of the beginnings of emigration, the character of the emigrants, and the structure and spirit of Swedish-American churches. Moreover, the great religious revivals not only shook the foundations of the ancient religious structure but also jarred political and social institutions. It could not have been otherwise in a country where church and state were not only united but identified. Ideas about religious liberty seeped into men's political and social thinking; earnest souls were beginning to question whether or not the king or any one else ruled by the grace of God. One editor, whose radicalism brought him into difficulties with the authorities on more than one occasion, ridiculed the idea back of the phrase and ventured to express the opinion that its purpose was to identify the earthly with the heavenly powers in order to emphasize the gulf between the people and the king.[2] Provoked by the unyielding opposition of the clerical estate, reformers questioned the right of clerics to sit in the *Riksdag*.[3] Sweden furnishes no exception to the rule that when new ideas begin to take hold on the people, conservatives find in these ideas the cause for "moral slump." When the February Revolution in France in 1848 was echoed in Sweden in the formation of reform societies and in mass meetings, and the March disturbances in Stockholm rocked that city for some days, a considerable share of blame for the "evil days" that had befallen the kingdom was laid on Socialism, Fourierism, women's rights, propaganda, and the writings of Proudhon and Theodore Parker.[4]

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[1] This point has been elucidated by the author in the following articles: "The Background of the Beginnings of Swedish Immigration, 1850–1875," *American Historical Review,* July, 1926, pp. 708–723; "When America was the Land of Canaan," *Minnesota History,* September, 1929, pp. 237–260; "The Mind of the Scandinavian Immigrant," Publications of the Norwegian-American Historical Association, *Studies and Records,* 4:63–73.

It is impossible to draw a sharp line of demarcation between religious and political persecution, so closely were church and state knit together. Especially was this true in the case of certain individuals of rationalistic and atheistic proclivities, who had little enough interest in religion as such, but who used every opportunity to cause embarrassment in ecclesiastical circles. For many years, every time a flock of emigrants deserted the fatherland the radical papers attributed their action to religious oppression and the archaic features of the governmental system.[5]

In the light of the revolutionary changes in religion in Sweden during the latter half of the nineteenth century the founding of anti-religious, not to say sacrilegious, papers about the middle of the century is of great significance. One of the most rabid sheets was *Demokraten,* published in Stockholm from October 5, 1850, to September 15, 1851, in the interest of the working class. With "liberty, equality, and fraternity" the ultimate goal, its immediate program included public education, religious liberty, and universal suffrage.[6] Associated with this paper was Frans H. Widstrand, who was destined to have a long and checkered career as a "reformer" in the United States; the editor and publisher was a portrait painter, Adolf Pettersson. For the offense of publishing an article in which he ridiculed the ascension of Christ on astronomical grounds and condemned clergymen for teaching such "absurdities," Pettersson was tried and banished from the country. He appealed to the king for clemency, but in vain.[7]

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[2] *Norrlands-Posten,* October 6, 1849.

[3] *Nerikes Allahanda,* Örebro, July 27, 1844; *Aftonbladet,* August 8, 1844.

[4] John Lindgren, *Socialdemokratiska arbetarepartiets uppkomst,* Stockholm, 1927, pp. 21 ff.

[5] *Götheborgs-Posten,* May 4, 1850. The editor of this paper asserted that people were inspired to emigrate by the radical papers and denied that religion had anything to do with it. He cited the fact that, in spite of enjoying a greater degree of religious freedom, Norway contributed 3,500 emigrants in 1849 as compared with 1,009 from Sweden.

An organ of extreme radicalism in politics, society, and religion was *Fäderneslandet,* a paper founded at Lund in 1850 and subsequently published at Stockholm. The editor, N. R. Munck af Rosenschöld, was haled before the court many times, and repeated suppression of his paper, which was atheistic and sharply critical of the clergy, caused it to appear under various titles — *Something in Place of Fäderneslandet, Lund's Mysteries,* and *A Flock of Broadsides.* It contained letters from immigrants in America and was loud in its praises of the transatlantic republic, even to the extent of defending American Mormon missionaries, whose morals were said to be better than those of the parish pastors.[8]

A contemporary of this paper, with probably a great deal more influence during its brief sojourn in the world of journalism, was *Tiden,* published at Stockholm from 1858 to 1859. For the established clergy its columns contained nothing but ridicule and sarcasm, and for the religion, politics, and society of America nothing but praise. It played up the persecution of colporteurs and Baptist and Mormon missionaries and asserted that the Augsburg Confession was not in harmony with the Scriptures.

There were other liberal papers, not so extreme or violent in their methods, that sought to instill a healthier religious tone and to slay the demon of persecution. Prominent among these were *Aftonbladet, Norrlands-Posten, Östgötha Correspondenten, Jönköpings-Bladet,* and *Wäktaren.* With the march of years their number increased until they outnumbered the conservative publications.

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[6] *Demokraten,* October 12, 1850.

[7] *Demokraten,* May 17, August 4, 1851; *Aftonbladet,* December 4, 1852; *Nya Wexjö-Bladet,* December 31, 1852, January 7, 1853.

[8] March 26, 29, 1856.

In the preceding pages references have been made to the persecutions of Eric-Jansonists, Baptists, Methodists, and individuals who did not conform to the doctrine and regulations of the old church; the records contain eloquent evidence that in the second and third quarters of the nineteenth century Sweden was far from being a land of religious toleration. In an address before the meeting of the Evangelical Alliance in Paris in 1855, C. Bergman, the "radical at Vinslöf," stated that in the parish of Bergsjö, in northern Sweden, 293 persons had been fined during the years from 1851 to 1853 for partaking of the Lord's Supper in their homes.[9] In Hälsingland "Orsa *läsare*" by the hundreds were committed to jail in Falun, and the treatment they received at the hands of the authorities and officials was the text for many news items and editorials. Moreover, there were many instances of meetings of *läsare* being broken up by mobs who broke windows and threatened the leaders. In 1857, for instance, a meeting of about eighty persons in Uppland, near Sigtuna, was dispersed by a crowd who put out the lights, broke the windows, and extinguished the fire in the stove.[10] Colporteurs reported that in some parishes the pastors permitted them to use the schoolhouse and in some cases even took active part, but that more often they tried to prevent them from preaching and holding devotional meetings. A number of pastors read the *konventikelplakat* from the pulpit almost every Sunday in order to instill fear into the hearts of their parishioners.[11]

It has already been noted that the Society for the Advancement of Religious Freedom was organized in 1851 and that *Evangelisk Kyrkowän* was its organ. The members of this society waged relentless warfare against the *konventikelplakat.* The editor, Hans Birger Hammar, deplored the mixing of the spiritual and temporal power inherent in a state church and in a series of remarkable articles laid bare the reasons for the decadence of the Church of Sweden. He deplored the exclusion of the laity from the spiritual activity of the church and advocated fearlessly the establishment of absolute religious freedom, for he believed that restriction hampered the development of a healthy spiritual life and that persecution poured oil on the fire of dissent. He took the Scottish Free church as a pattern. A number of liberal editors, including a few churchmen, joined forces with Hammar, but as a rule the clergymen were conspicuous by their absence from the meetings of the Society for the Advancement of Religious Freedom.

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[9] *Bihang till Wäktaren,* December 1, 1855.

[10] *Evangelisten,* February 16, 1857. This periodical notes many similar occurrences.

[11] Statement of Petter Jönsson of Jönköpings *län,* December 24, 1853, in *Bonde-Ståndets Protokoll,* 1853–1854, 1:588.

America was the ideal of the crusaders against the *konventikelplakat,* and the progress and influence of Christianity in a land where all creeds were privileged to contend for their faiths figured strongly in the discussions. P. A. Siljeström, who had traveled in the United States, gave a lecture in 1851 before an organization of teachers on "Religious Education in the North American Free States," in which he echoed the observations of De Tocqueville. He stated that American ministers had greater influence than Swedish ministers because they were not hamstrung by the government and because they were of high character. He found that, although religion was not taught in the public schools of America, some of the most prominent and able men were teachers in Sunday schools.[12]

An interesting ministerial meeting was held in Stockholm in 1853, at which a discordant note was struck, most unexpectedly, by Gustaf Unonius, a Swedish Episcopal clergyman from America, who was paying a visit to Sweden. This man, who had emigrated in 1841, had written words of high praise for the religious situation in his adopted country in letters that were widely read in the columns of *Aftonbladet;* but experience with proselyters had altered his position, as it had altered that of certain other Swedish-American religious leaders — Lars Paul Esbjörn, for example. Having in mind his unhappy experience with Eric-Jansonists, Baptists, and *läsare* Lutheran pastors, Unonius asked the privilege of the floor at the Stockholm meeting. He dwelt on the evil results of religious freedom in the United States: the absence of religious instruction in the public schools and the failure of so many to seek membership in a church.

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[12] *Demokraten,* February 1, 1851.

Although the speech was to the taste of a number of the delegates and prompted a long philippic against the religious and political system in the western republic, there were others who rose to its defense. One pastor offered the information that a hundred and fifty emigrants had left his parish, from whom letters came every week which gave an entirely different picture from that presented by Unonius. He admitted that many people in the United States did not hold membership in a church, but he pointed to the situation in his own country, where there was a greater proportional number who in spirit and conduct were estranged from the church, although they were nominal church members. In spite of the fact that church members were in the minority in the United States, he asserted that they were so zealous that they imparted a Christian spirit to the laws and leavened the whole lump. As for Unonius' statement that the Lutheran church in America was split up into mutually hostile synods, he accepted that as a natural concomitant of religious freedom. The liberal pastors Peter Fjellstedt and P. M. Elmblad also rose to the defense of America.[13] The debate awakened echoes across the water, where indignation against the " American traitor " was great in some quarters.

The proselyting activities of Mormon missionaries was a cause of embarrassment to the advocates of religious freedom. Referring to the emigration of Mormon converts from Skåne, one newspaper commented that it was considered proper to forbid the sale of poison, but to prohibit a worse poison — crime against sacred things — was said to be unjust.[14] The Mormon question figured in the discussions at meetings of the Society for the Advancement of Religious Freedom. One speaker thought there was little to fear from the Mormon propaganda if the light of truth were thrown upon it; and in any event the neophytes were drunkards and undesirables whose riddance was a gain to the fatherland. Another vouchsafed the information that since the Mormons had been driven out of one of the western states, it could not be said that the American people enjoyed unrestricted religious freedom. To this argument it was replied that the expulsion came from the people and not from the government.[15]

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[13] The proceedings of the meeting were published in *Aftonbladet,* June 16, 17, 1853.

[14] *Kristianstadsbladet,* June 20, 1868.

The fact that dissatisfaction with the state church coincided with the beginnings of emigration was proof to liberal editors that religion played a part in stimulating the desire to emigrate; and the conservatives accused the dissenters and lay preachers of infecting the entire country with " America fever," although in most cases they were disposed to belittle the religious aspects of the movement. The increasing emigration from Hälsingland at the beginning of the fifties and the exodus of Eric-Jansonists in the previous decade was thought by the liberal *Norrlands-Posten* to be due to the desire for religious, political, social, and industrial freedom. The editor admitted that this freedom was, of course, still more inviting when it beckoned from vast prairies, fertile and cheap land, and other rich resources; but when he balanced the sorrow of leaving friends, the dangers of an ocean voyage, and the hardships of a new country against the opportunities offered by that country, he concluded that it was American institutions and freedom that turned the scale. The editor of a rival paper, *Helsi,* took sharp issue with this editorial and denied that the emigrants were industrious and energetic. The rebuttal of the former editor was that he had talked with a large number of emigrants who had come to him for advice and had learned that they stressed religious causes.[16] Some twenty years later another liberal paper, while attributing emigration to the desire to get a better living, admitted that it had its beginnings in dissatisfaction with religious conditions and that the letters from the earlier " idealistic " emigrants induced others to follow in their train.[17]

The Swedish-American newspapers undoubtedly contributed something to the rising dissatisfaction. Some of them seized upon almost anything to stimulate emigration, and the state church was a fair target for their shafts. Others, like *Hemlandet,* the organ of the Swedish Lutheran church, were interested in religious reform for its own sake and watched the proceedings of the *Riksdag* with great interest. The organs of the Swedish-American Methodists, Baptists, and Mission Friends naturally enlisted in the cause of religious freedom in the Old Country and published letters from immigrants who said they had been driven out of the country by persecution or by their own dissatisfaction with the old church.[18]

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[15] *Aftonbladet,* June 23, 1853.

[16] *Norrlands-Posten,* January 7, 31, 1850. See also the issue of June 30, 1849.

[17] *Göteborgs Handels- och Sjöfarts-Tidning,* cited in *Hwad Nytt?* July 11, 1868; see also *Nya Wexjö-Bladet,* April 23, December 30, 1853.

It is impossible to tabulate statistics showing the part of religion in stimulating emigration; nor are court records of total fines and prison sentences imposed on violators of the *konventikelplakat* an accurate index of persecution or dissatisfaction. The best way to attack this problem is to search the soul of the emigrant, and here the " America letters " furnish the key. It is true that a number of immigrants in response to queries gave religion as the cause for their emigration, but some of them probably injected into their replies the retrospections of several months or years. In the volume entitled " The Emigrants' Own Reasons," comprising letters written at the request of the commission appointed by the Swedish government to seek out the causes of emigration, a few correspondents attributed their emigration to religion; and other investigators have discovered similar data.[19] Some emigrants expressed dissatisfaction with taxation for the support of the church, although, as has been pointed out, religion is a cultural interest in Sweden and refusal to pay taxes to the church establishment would be somewhat on a par with a protest against the school tax in the United States on the ground that the individual sends his children to a private or parochial school.[20] Moreover, after the law was modified to exempt certain persons from this tax, very few took advantage of it. Nevertheless "compulsory taxes to the church" was a good "talking point" for certain emigration agents, particularly if the parish pastor was unpopular. One immigrant wrote from Minnesota in 1854 that he enjoyed the freedom from making contributions to state, church, and beggars, and that the parish pastors in Sweden had "large stomachs" at the expense of others.[21]

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[18] *Minnesota Posten,* Red Wing, November 7, December 15, 1857; *Rätta Hemlandet och Augustana,* October, 1870; *Skandinavisk Härold,* Omaha, December 1, 1870; letters from S. J. Sjöberg and Hans Mattson, in *Svenska Amerikanaren,* January 8, 1868, April 20, 1869; *Illinois Swede,* quoted in *Amerika-Bladet,* Örebro, December 7, 1869, January 4, 1870; *Zions Banér,* Galesburg, August, 1872, February, 1873; *Facklan,* quoted in *Minnesota Stats Tidning,* July 5, 1877; *Sändebudet,* Chicago, June 18, 1881.

[19] *Emigrationsutredningen,* Stockholm, 1908, bilaga 7, pp. 131–263; J. Stadling, *Genom den stora vestern,* Stockholm, 1883, p. 47; Ernst Skarstedt, *Vagabond och redaktör,* Seattle, 1914, p. 181; Ernst Beckman, in *Stockholms Dagblad,* June 23, 1883.

[20] V. Berger, *Svensk-Amerikanska meditationer,* Rock Island, 1916, pp. 149–150.

Undoubtedly the free and easy ways of the American pastors and the spontaneity of religious services in the United States contributed to the optimistic tone of the "America letters." Upon his visit to a Baptist church in New York in 1852, Anders Wiberg was struck with the contrast between the services in America and in Sweden. When he met a Swedish immigrant on this occasion and remarked to him that the king was liberal but was compelled to enforce the law that banished Baptists from the fatherland, the immigrant took a deep breath and said, "Here we can breathe freely." This sentiment, Wiberg added, was emphasized by all whom he saw later. When he saw this congregation and learned how the right to spiritual freedom accompanied citizenship and then thought how such a congregation would be treated in Sweden, he could scarcely restrain tears both of joy and of sorrow.[22]

It seems to be a fact that a disproportionate number of emigration agents were free-church men, who thus had an advantage in "working" a certain element in the population. They could tell their prospects that a hearty welcome awaited them from Swedish-American pastors of their own faith. It appears also that the free-church pastors in Sweden were in touch with their brethren in America and gave to emigrants letters recommending them to pastors and congregations, whereas the parish pastors as a rule did not bother to speak a good word for the Lutheran Augustana Synod — indeed, some of them hardly knew that it existed. In any event, it meant a great deal to an emigrant to know that there were "God's people" in America and that he could fraternize with them.

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[21] *Götheborgs Handels- och Sjöfarts-Tidning,* quoted in *Borås Tidning,* April 26, 1855.

[22] Correspondence from America, in *Aftonbladet,* December 7, 1852.

The "America letters" furnish abundant testimony that the immigrants found moral standards in America to be on a much higher plane than in Sweden. Coming from a country where almost every parish knew of several illegitimate children, they could not but marvel at the rigid American moral code. The Middle West, to which most of the earlier immigrants gravitated, was a striking contrast to Sweden, where every landowning farmer operated a still and where the fiery *brännvin* was as much a household necessity at that time as coffee is today. After a residence of four years in southeastern Iowa, Peter Cassel, who was converted to Methodism after coming to America, wrote that he had "dined in hundreds of homes" and had "yet to see a whiskey bottle on the table." In this land immigrants found communities where the ideal conditions pictured by the apostles of temperance in the fatherland were a reality.

The American pastor portrayed in the letters was a friendly, democratic individual who held religious meetings in homes and on highways and byways and took a personal interest in his fellow men. To the Swedes who visualized the American clergymen through the medium of these letters, the parish pastor appeared stiffer and more indifferent than ever; and it is a fair inference that when at the Sunday morning service he read the names of those who had applied for permission to emigrate to America, many sighed and laid plans for the day when their names would also be read. In the mind of the pietist, America was a land where the pastor was one of the people: he worked with his hands, preached without manuscript, sought the sheep, and was full of the spirit, light, and perfection. Moreover, there was no *konventikelplakat* "contrary to the plain teaching of the Word of God which prohibited believing souls from meeting for edification in the sacred truth of our Lord Jesus Christ." There were no blustering officials to intrude and to disperse meetings of "true believers" and to forbid laymen to spread the "healing salvation of the Gospel." [23]

This chapter would be one-sided if it did not include a brief resumé of the legislation that transformed Sweden from one of the most intolerant countries in Europe to one of the most tolerant. Undoubtedly the country would have modified or repealed its obnoxious laws sooner had it not been for the strategic position held by the clergy in the *Riksdag* until the new constitution went into effect in 1866. For a long time the *konventikelplakat* was practically a dead letter, for on the surface it appeared that the church establishment had no enemies; but with the advent of the second half of the nineteenth century it was invoked to allay the rising tide of dissent. The Methodist Scott was virtually forced to discontinue holding services in Bethlehem Chapel, and from that time the victims of persecution steadily increased in number. The wrath of the law fell upon believers as well as unbelievers. In 1844 a painter was banished from the realm for having embraced the doctrine of Roman Catholicism; the following year a tailor from Mora was sentenced to prison for the offense of having publicly declared that Lutheranism was the devil's doctrine and that it was a sin to attend church. The Baptist Nilsson, as we have seen, was banished in 1850. Eight years later six Catholic women were exiled.[24]

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[23] Extracts from several letters in Stephenson, "When America was the Land of Canaan," *Minnesota History*, September, 1929, pp. 251–252.

So serious was the situation that protests against persecution were sent to Sweden from several European countries and from the United States. At first the agitation for toleration had an effect exactly contrary to that desired. In 1855 a new law, obviously directed against Baptists, imposed fines on laymen who administered the sacraments, and in 1857 the opponents of toleration won a decisive victory in the *Riksdag*.[25]

This was, however, but the period of darkness before the dawn; the year 1858 marks the first of a series of enactments that spelled the doom of the old order. In the light of subsequent changes this first modification of the *konventikelplakat* appears very conservative. It permitted members of the Evangelical Lutheran church to assemble for devotions without the leadership of a pastor, provided that such meetings were not held at the same hours as the services in the parish churches and that admittance was not denied to the clergy, to church officers, or to public officials. If any person uttered anything at such meetings that might lead to schism or to disrespect for regular services or religion, the vestry was empowered to prohibit him from appearing at future meetings. The weak point in the law was the provision that the vestry was to judge whether or not statements were schismatic, a provision that made the interpretation of the law a subjective procedure.[26]

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[24] *Aftonbladet,* April 3, 1844; *Borås Tidning,* April 17, 1845; *Evangelisten,* January 15, 1859.

[25] *Wäktaren,* January 17, 1855; *Evangelisk Kyrkowän,* November 30, 1857.

A Lutheran periodical published under the auspices of *Lunds Missionsförening* took occasion, in expressing approval of the new law, to summarize the effects of the *konventikelplakat* as follows: It created disrespect for law and weakened love for the government; it played into the hands of the " scandal press "; it embittered many against all religion and made it dangerous for a person even to be called a *läsare,* since in some places it was considered no crime to kill a person with that designation; it gave rise to the false idea that religion was a monopoly of the clergy; and it made some pastors despotic and tyrannical and caused them to be mistrusted and hated.[27] In the case of certain individuals it is not too much to say that these effects were causes of emigration.

An important concession was made to Christians of faiths other than the " true evangelical " when in 1860 the *Riksdag* gave them the right to petition the king to organize congregations. If the petition were granted, such congregations might have freedom within the boundaries determined by law. Services were to be held only in churches and chapels, and responsible persons in the congregations were obliged to make reports to the parish pastor. Monastic orders were prohibited, as they still are. If both parties belonged to a " strange " church, the marriage ceremony might be in accordance with the ritual of that denomination; but otherwise the ritual of the established church should be followed. Persons under eighteen years of age were denied the privilege of affiliating with another church. If both their parents belonged to a church other than the established church, children might be brought up in it; but if the father remained faithful to the old church, the children must be reared in the faith he confessed. In case the mother was the " faithful " one, a somewhat different procedure was prescribed.

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[26] *Swensk Författnings-samling,* October 20, 1858, no. 90; *Lunds Missions-Tidning,* January, 1859.

[27] *Lunds Missions-Tidning,* January, 1859.

Another law bearing the same date prescribed penalties for spreading doctrines contrary to the "true evangelical faith."[28] During this year, also, the law requiring a person traveling from place to place to have a pass was repealed; this regulation had been used to embarrass colporteurs, who were refused such passes if they were separatists.

The limitations of reform by legislation were soon manifest; a number of the parish pastors took the position that even though the *konventikelplakat* had been repealed, Article XIV of the Augsburg Confession remained in force and could be interpreted as declaring lay preaching to be unscriptural.[29] Statements deemed schismatic by the vestry were still punishable by fines. An important concession was made in 1873, when members of separatist congregations were allowed to withdraw membership from the parish church upon designating the congregation they wished to join.

If the columns of the free-church organs and other liberal papers are an index of public sentiment, there was still dissatisfaction with religious regulations throughout the last quarter of the century. In the case of the humbler members of society, the parish pastor could and did use his influence with employers and landowners to make life burdensome for those who leaned toward separatism.[30] It was during these years that the Mission Covenant was organized; it made great inroads on the old church, as did the other denominations.

Two further concessions were made in 1908, when civil marriages were legalized and dissenters were relieved of a portion of the tax to support the established church; and in 1926 free-church pastors were granted the right to perform burial rites. Occasionally parish pastors have yielded reluctantly to departures from the old order, as in the case of the pastor of the parish of Kristdala, who read the burial service of the established church at the grave of one who three days before had been buried according to the Baptist ritual; he explained that there were very few dissenters in his parish and he did not desire to have it said that there was a single grave in the old cemetery that had not been hallowed with the rites of the ancient church. He was taken to task so severely by certain papers that there could be no doubt as to the temper of the public.[31]

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[28] *Swensk Författnings-samling,* October 23, 1860, nos. 45, 46.

[29] Wadström, *Ur minnet och dagboken,* 2:41–42; *Sändebudet,* Uppsala, March, 1872; *Weckoposten,* cited in *Östgöten,* Linköping, May 25, 1876.

[30] *Östgöten,* cited in *Svenske Budbäraren,* Gothenburg, February 20, 1891; *Hemlandsvännen,* Stockholm, January 21, 1891, January 21, September 1, 1893; Ollén, "De frikyrkliges politiska ansvar," *Frikyrkomötet 1924 förhandlingar och föredrag,* p. 184; J. A. Borgström, *Hafva vi religionsfrihet i Sverige? Den svenska religionslagstiftningen betraktad med hänsyn till religionsfrihetsfrågan,* Stockholm, 1888, pp. 37–39. The last two titles are written from the free-church angle and give reviews of legislation up to the time they were written, as well as the obligations of the separatists to the state church.

The Swedish emigrant of today leaves a country where certain religious questions are still matters of public discussion and division. Religious instruction in the schools is still the monopoly of teachers who are of the Lutheran faith; the theological faculties in the universities are "evangelical"; the king and certain public officials must confess the "true evangelical faith." But these regulations are interpreted very loosely, and in practice all that is required of these people is that their names be recorded in the church records. The present free-church idea is that the state church is fundamentally a state institution which in many ways has been, and still is, a great blessing to the people and that it is incumbent upon all to comply with its laws and regulations as far as possible. In the years when emigration was heaviest there was a formidable demand for the abolition of the church establishment; but now that toleration exists, neither the free-church element nor the anti-religious element is agitating for disestablishment. The old church carries the prestige of the centuries, though it stands shorn of its once great authority. The parish pastor still commands the respect of his parishioners, but few of them do him the honor of listening to his sermons. It is a far cry from the parish pastor who lectured the applicants for immigration permits to his obliging successor, who, since 1915, has not always had even the honor of baptizing or confirming them.[32]

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[31] *Dagens Nyheter*, Stockholm, July 27, 1928.

[32] Hjalmar Holmquist, *Den religiösa toleransens historia*, Uppsala, 1917, pp. 88–89; Nordström, "Samvetsfrihetens princip och konsekvenser," *Frikyrkomötet 1924 förhandlingar och föredrag*, pp. 171–172; Johansson, *Ur minnet*, pp. 147–148.

CHAPTER XI

ESBJÖRN AND THE FOUNDING OF THE SWEDISH LUTHERAN CHURCH

WHEN the man who was destined to become the founder of the Swedish Lutheran church in the United States took his departure from Sweden in the summer of 1849, sectarianism was already in evidence in his native land; and he found that his scattered countrymen in the New World had already become the prey of missionaries of several ecclesiastical organizations. Anglicanism, Methodism, Eric-Jansonism, and the Baptist faith antedate Lutheranism in the history of Swedish immigration, but the organization of the Swedish Lutheran church preceded that of the other churches, with the exception of the Jansonist, which soon ran its course. In view of the fact that Swedish Lutheranism soon claimed the center of the stage and produced the largest and most important body, it seems proper to allocate to it a position of priority and importance in these pages.

It seems ironical that, with exceptions to be noted later, in the New World the contenders for the faith the immigrants confessed in the Old Country were compelled to rely largely upon their own resources, receiving little or no assistance from the Church of Sweden and rather meager help from American Lutheran churches, whereas the members of other denominations lent substantial aid for the prosecution of missionary work among the immigrants. This bears eloquent testimony to the prestige of the name " Lutheran " among the Swedish immigrants as well as to the zeal and devotion of the Lutheran leaders. The indifference and even hostility of the ecclesiastical authorities in Sweden to the religious fate of a handful of countrymen dispersed over a remote continent was, in a way, fortunate for the Lutheran leaders. It made them independent and self-reliant and their church adaptable to American conditions. With the exception of men like Wieselgren and Fjellstedt, the parish church pastors took little or no interest in the immigrants, whom they regarded as black sheep, wanton deserters from their native land, deserving of whatever fate might be in store for them. Moreover, with many pastorates vacant at home, it was not reasonable to expect the authorities to bestir themselves and deplete the man power of the church even further by sending missionaries to America among countrymen who were looked upon as destined to lose their religious identity in the great crucible of the American population.

The letters and reports of the early ministers of the gospel among the Swedish immigrants reveal that they were appalled by the magnitude and difficulty of the tasks that awaited them. With small, struggling settlements dotting the landscape at great distances, with the population in a state of flux, and with poverty dogging every step, a faith able to remove mountains was needed to surmount the obstacles and discouragements that encompassed them. It was a time of small beginnings, when every recruit counted enormously and every backslider was a great subtraction. Emigration had weaned a considerable number away from the church. Uprooted from the environment of youth and early manhood, exposed to new scenes and strange experiences, living without a church for a time, the immigrant was a hard man for the pastor to approach.

Just one month before Esbjörn, the founder of the Swedish Lutheran church in America, set foot on American soil, the man who was to be a close associate of his for a time and later his bitter enemy, unaware that Esbjörn was coming, wrote to the superintendent of the Mission Institute at Lund making inquiry as to the possibility of cooperation between the Lutherans in America and Sweden. The writer was William M. Reynolds, professor in Gettysburg Theological Seminary and editor of the *Evangelical Review*. He had studied the history of the Swedish churches on the Delaware and was anxious to spare the new emigrants arriving from Sweden the fate that had befallen their forbears, whose churches had become Episcopalian and had thus been lost to Lutheranism. Reynolds solicited material bearing on the Delaware Swedes for an article he was about to prepare and suggested exchanging his periodical for a Swedish theological publication. His chief purpose in writing, however, was probably to probe the possibility of obtaining cooperation from Sweden in missionary work among the immigrants. He reported that the Lutheran synods had a common missionary society to carry on work among the foreign born, and he suggested that the Swedish Missionary Society might be willing to join forces with this society in ministering to the Swedes who were flocking to the northwestern states. The American society, he continued, had been unable to serve them for lack of a man who could speak Swedish.[1]

Though he deserves better treatment, the name of Reynolds, as we shall see, has been blackened in Swedish-American Lutheran history. In histories written by Swedish Lutherans, Lars Paul Esbjörn is the hero and William M. Reynolds is the villain. The latter is awarded scant praise, if any at all, for the benevolent interest he manifested from the very beginning in the founding and development of the Swedish Lutheran church. His dream of an American Lutheran church was shattered by the impulsive act of the man who came to the United States in answer to his prayers; but every year that passes brings the church just that much nearer to the realization of his hopes. The immediate future played into the hands of Esbjörn; the elapse of eighty years has brought the church to the threshold of a new era.

The career of Lars Paul Esbjörn is rich in the lessons of vicissitudes. It is the story of a man buffeted by discouragements and misfortunes, foiled by fate at critical moments, tossed hither and yon by winds of doctrine, veered to this opinion and that by change of environment, shunted from liberalism to orthodoxy, alternately the defender and the opponent of religious freedom, at one time manifesting a strong sympathy for Methodism and "unionism" and later harboring bitter animosity, and, finally, after having spent the best years of his life in the cause of a free church, ending his days in the service of a state church. He was born in an environment charged with the *läsare* spirit, and he labored in a field swept with Eric-Jansonism; it was partly through the instrumentality of a defender of Janson and his followers that he was called to America, only to be planted in a region peopled by religious fanatics and to become bitterly antagonistic to their churches.

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[1] *Lunds Missions-Tidning,* December, 1849. The letter was dated at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, August 7, 1849. The article on "The Scandinavians in the Northwest" by Reynolds appeared in the *Evangelical Review* for January, 1852.

Esbjörn was born on October 16, 1808, in the parish of Delsbo in northern Hälsingland, a region memorable in the annals of Eric-Jansonism. He was left an orphan at the age of seven; his foster mother taught him to read and urged him to enter a school at Hudiksvall. Here and in the gymnasium at Gävle he eked out a meager living by singing in the homes of farmers, who rewarded him with gifts of money, candles, grain, food, and clothing. On June 11, 1832, he was ordained into the ministry of the Church of Sweden. His work as curate at Östervåla and as chaplain on an estate at Oslättfors, near Hille, was marked by a strong strain of pietism and interest in the cause of temperance, which brought him into intimate relations with George Scott and Peter Wieselgren. This relationship blocked his promotion and made him enemies, who went so far as to threaten his life. He receives occasional mention in Wieselgren's correspondence, an indication that he was not merely an unknown parson in an insignificant parish. Moreover, shortly after the tumult in Bethlehem Chapel that put an end to Scott's great work in Sweden, Esbjörn wrote to Scott imploring him not to desert his poverty-ridden fatherland.[2] He spoke of "us *läsare* pastors." He wrote to Wieselgren that he was collecting devotional melodies for a compilation based on P. H. Syréen's hymnal, and he expressed the hope — thus revealing his free-church tendencies [3] — that no Schartaun one-sidedness would prevent Wieselgren from lending assistance. His pen was also busy in translating Johan Arndt's works and in making other translations from English; so he must have been somewhat familiar with the English language before he had any idea of emigrating. The spontaneity of Scott's free-church activity magnified by contrast the formalism and spiritual deadness of the established church and caused him to long for a field of labor among his countrymen in a land where all creeds were privileged to contend for their faiths, a longing that grew with the increasing emigration from the part of Sweden in which he resided and with the advent of letters from persons in the New World begging him to cast his lot with them and to become their spiritual leader.

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[2] There are several letters from Esbjörn to Wieselgren in the Wieselgren correspondence in the *Stadsbibliotek* of Gothenburg. The letter to Scott is printed in Westin, *Handlingar,* 360–362.

[3] Letter dated February 22, 1843.

Despite all that has been written about Esbjörn and the motives that actuated him in leaving the fatherland, the full details have never been unearthed. The emigration of Eric-Jansonists, beginning in 1846, gave a great deal of publicity to America, and Esbjörn read a number of letters from the pilgrims in *Norrlands-Posten* (Gävle) and *Helsi* (Söderhamn). He appears to have been informed about the activity of Jonas J. Hedström, the Methodist missionary in Illinois, and to have met his brother, a baker in Lyckeby, near Karlskrona.[4]

Moreover, Esbjörn had written to Jonas Hedström to inquire about the prospects for religious work among his countrymen. Hedström, who had lived in the United States since 1833, had so far forgotten his mother tongue that he was unable to read the letter without the assistance of O. Bäck, a former constable at Bollnäs, who had permitted the Jansonists to hold a conventicle in his home.[5] Bäck, who was commissioned to answer the letter, expressed joy over the prospect of having Esbjörn as their pastor. He stated that he had never accepted the teachings of Janson and that he would never have emigrated if it had not been for his wife, who was "just as crazy and misguided as ever." The day after he read Esbjörn's letter — it was then early in October, 1848 — Bäck wrote a reply and an application to the Swedish Missionary Society for Esbjörn's support, as Esbjörn had requested. He learned afterward, to his surprise, that Hedström had failed to forward either document to Sweden. Bäck remarked that Hedström was not an educated man but a locksmith (*klensmed*) by trade, and that the Methodists accepted any converted Christian into the ministry, without regard to his education. "My words are inadequate to tell you how greatly we stand in need of a pastor," he said. "I have not communed at the Lord's table since I was in New York, on September 15, 1847, and it seems that he is trying to quench the Lord's spirit in our souls. For a long time I have thought of administering the holy sacrament to the starving souls, and it will probably be with trembling hands." He closed with the request that Esbjörn would inform him of his decision.[6]

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[4] In a letter to Wieselgren, dated May 23, 1850, Esbjörn states that the brother at Lyckeby had asked him for information about the spiritual condition of his brother in America.

[5] See the note on page 53. A long letter from Bäck was published in *Norrlands-Posten* for March 31 and April 3, 1849. He was very bitter against Eric Janson.

The longing to depart for America, which Esbjörn had probably had for some time, was finally realized on June 29, 1849, when the "Cobden" put out to sea from Gävle with a party of 146 emigrants, of whom Esbjörn, then in the prime of life, forty-one years of age, was the leader.[7] He was accompanied by his wife and six children, the oldest twelve years old and the youngest, twin boys, four months.

Two days before the "Cobden" anchored at Elsinore occurred the death of Esbjörn's infant son. Wishing to bury him on native Swedish soil, the parents took the body across the sound in a yawl to Hälsingborg, where the burial service was read by Wieselgren, with whom Esbjörn had been associated in the temperance movement. The evening was spent in Wieselgren's home with other friends, who made up a purse for the emigrant pastor. The friends bade them farewell on board the "Cobden" after Wieselgren had preached a sermon to the emigrants admonishing them to be worthy of their nationality. He did not approve of emigration, but he wished them God's blessing. On the transatlantic voyage Esbjörn conducted religious services and spoke words of cheer and advice to the sick and discouraged and assisted them as best he could.

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[6] The letter was dated at Victoria, Illinois, December 27, 1848, and published in *Norrlands-Posten*, March 1, 1849. According to an unsigned letter dated at Victoria, January 12, 1850, and printed in *Helsi*, July 5, 1850, the Methodist pastor C. P. Agrelius was living at the time in Bäck's home. This would indicate that Bäck was a Methodist. It is difficult to understand Bäck's invitation to Esbjörn unless he was of the opinion that Esbjörn was in sympathy with Methodism, as the latter admitted he was. In a letter to Norelius, dated at Galesburg, January 30, 1856, he says that at one time he was Methodistic. This manuscript letter is in the Norelius collection at Rock Island, Illinois.

[7] The passenger list of the "Cobden" is printed in Gustav Andreen, "L. P. Esbjörn and the Pilgrim Fathers of 1849," *Augustana Bulletin*, October, 1925, pp. 19–22. This was a family migration and most of the heads of families were farmers.

Upon arrival at New York the captain of the vessel, H. Hedqvist, who seems to have taken a personal interest in the party, took the trouble to write to *Norrlands-Posten* of their safe arrival. The voyage, which lasted sixty-eight days, had been attended by good weather and there had been little serious illness, though Esbjörn's infant son and a youth had died. " With hearts touched with emotion," the captain wrote, " they approached the shores of their new fatherland at noon of September 6 and arrived at New York in the afternoon." On the tenth a steamboat came alongside the " Cobden " to take them on the first lap to Chicago.[8]

In New York the inevitable agents of land and transportation companies besieged the party. One of them promised to donate land and to assist in raising money for the erection of a church at Andover, Illinois, a community that had already claimed a number of emigrants from Östergötland and Småland. Esbjörn regarded this offer as providential, but it was not fulfilled until some time later. He met Robert Baird, the temperance agitator, who had visited Sweden at the invitation of George Scott. Baird was very cordial and probably suggested that Esbjörn apply to the American Home Missionary Society for financial support; but its regulations prohibited the giving of aid to a pastor who was not affiliated with some American church. He also met the Swedish Methodist missionary, Olof Gustaf Hedström, and upon his invitation preached twice in a Methodist church and gave a temperance lecture. The Methodists urged Esbjörn to affiliate with their church, but, according to his statement to the Swedish Missionary Society, he wished to remain faithful to Lutheranism and felt that he could not join a church that admitted slaveholders to membership.[9]

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[8] Letter dated September 11, printed in *Norrlands-Posten,* October 9, 1849, and in *Helsi,* October 12, 1849.

[9] *Missions-Tidning,* June, 1850. According to Nils Forsander (*Lifsbilder ur Augustana-synodens historia,* 1915, första delen, 13–14), Mrs. Esbjörn persuaded her husband to remain loyal to Lutheranism. His version states that Esbjörn had believed that the Methodists would lend aid to a Lutheran pastor but that he was informed by Hedström that he would have to join the Methodist church. Esbjörn asked time for consideration and yielded to his wife. Forsander cites no authority for his statement; he may have heard it from his intimate friend T. N. Hasselquist, who was not an admirer of Esbjörn. In a conversation with Mrs. Frank Bengston, a daughter of one of the Andover pioneers, at Rock Island on September 7, 1923, the present writer was told substantially the same story. It is entirely plausible, but from the

The voyage of the "Mayflower" of the Augustana Synod is typical of the experiences of emigrant parties of the time. The departure of the pilgrims aroused considerable interest in Sweden. The editor of *Norrlands-Posten,* for instance, wrote as follows in the issue for March 1, 1849:

> A pastor in this locality, with a considerable family, has decided to join a party of emigrants in order to minister to many of our people who have already left and who are about to depart. His decision has aroused some interest and has been judged according to the point of view of the individual. Many who are unacquainted with conditions do not realize the great need of Christian workers among the settlers in the western states; many fear that the minister will become destitute; others that he will become so prosperous that he will be actuated by mercenary motives, as in the case of most applicants for ecclesiastical preferment; others that it is a sin and wrong to leave the fatherland. Few seem to comprehend the magnitude of the sacrifice of leaving a secure position with a settled, though small, income and of giving up his private possessions in order to devote the remaining years of his life and strength to the spiritual welfare of his remote countrymen, hitherto looked upon with indifference by the church establishments and missionary societies of Sweden and Norway.

A communication to *Lunds Missions-Tidning* written in October, 1849, stated that most of the emigrants left to escape a hostile element that interpreted "religious freedom" to mean freedom from religion. When the baseness and absurdity of Eric-Jansonism was said to be the consequence of Bible reading and prayer, it continued, those feeling the need of edification who were denied food for the soul said the time had come to leave. But what would the Swedish church and state gain

very first Esbjörn's letters breathe an intense hostility to Methodism. It was not long after the inception of his work at Andover that Esbjörn learned that the methods of Jonas J. Hedström were entirely different from those of the Wesleyan Scott, who always opposed separation from the Church of Sweden. In fact, Esbjörn's experience with Eric-Jansonist, Methodist, Baptist, and Episcopal proselyters in America hardened him into an uncompromising adherent to the symbolical books of the Lutheran church. In a letter written as early as 1852 he heaped condemnation on the methods of the reformed churches. He credited O. G. Hedström with more Christian seriousness than his brother, but thought him somewhat contaminated with sectarian one-sidedness (Esbjörn to Wieselgren, May 23, 1850). Esbjörn was intensely opposed to slavery. He requested Wieselgren to send him historical proofs that slavery in Sweden immediately became powerless when Christianity was introduced, in order that Sweden might contribute fuel to the fire of charity that was trying to uproot slavery and give to America something in return for Baird's book.

by an emigration of this kind? The writer saw much to deplore in the affair. The communication aroused the ire of three parish pastors in the locality, who denied that the emigrants left on account of religious conditions and stated that, although certain regulations had been enforced in the interest of good order, no persecutions had taken place. They asserted that the emigrants went to find a Canaan — a land of milk and honey.[10]

Esbjörn himself wrote three years later that he had given much thought to religious freedom and that the desire to get a first-hand acquaintance with the practical working of a free-church system was one of the most important reasons for his emigration.[11] At the conclusion of his farewell sermon, on May 28, 1849, however, he made no reference to this. He said simply: "As you know, I am about to depart, with my wife and several children, for a distant land in order to preach the word of life to brethren of our blood and speech." That Esbjörn left because of thwarted ambition as much as anything else is suggested by the fact that on December 7, 1846, he had preached a "trial sermon" in the church at Söderhamn, but had failed to secure the coveted position.[12] In his farewell sermon he referred to the multifarious duties of his position: pastor, storehouse and parish clerk, and school teacher.

From the beginning Esbjörn's letters reveal dissatisfaction with religious conditions in the United States and bitter disillusionment as to the free-church system. It is true, of course, that other Swedish Lutheran pastors, Hasselquist and Carlsson included, pointed out the defects of the system as they saw it, but they never went to the lengths that Esbjörn did in defending the established church. It is also true that Esbjörn was not endowed with the qualities that make a popular pastor and preacher and that he was incapable of sustained cooperation with men who could not see eye to eye with him. He fared not much better with his associates in America than he did in Sweden, although he had staunch admirers in both countries.

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[10] *Lunds Missions-Tidning,* February, 1850.

[11] *Helsi,* October 8, 1852.

[12] L. P. Esbjörn, *I. J. N. Afskedspredikan, hållen uti Hille kyrka annandag pingst, den 28 maj 1849 af L. P. Esbjörn, före dess afresa till Förenta Staterna i N. Amerika såsom Swenska missionssällskapets ombud och predikant för swenska och norska emigranter,* Gävle, 1849, and *Prof-predikan, hållen i Söderhamns stads kyrka andra söndagen i adventet, den 7 december 1846. På flere åhörares begäran och bekostnad till trycket befordrad,* Gävle, 1846.

Esbjörn left Sweden because he was dissatisfied with his lot, as did the other emigrants, and his problems and environment were as complex as theirs; but the parish pastor who gave up a secure position and fixed income to emigrate to America was a rare specimen.[13] It is highly significant that the first three ministers to emigrate and to lay the foundations of the Swedish Lutheran church — Esbjörn, Hasselquist, and Carlsson — had come under the influence of pietistic and liberal pastors and had thereby jeopardized or ruined their chances of promotion. They saw many people depart from their parishes, and they were impelled to join them. Why should they not take the same risk their parishioners were taking?

It is evident that Esbjörn arrived at Andover chastened by bereavement, discouragements, and unaccustomed hardships, although the lot that befell him and his party was no worse than that of other parties of emigrants of the time. The party made its way westward via the Hudson River–Erie Canal–Great Lakes route to Chicago and thence through the Illinois Canal to Peru and overland by wagon to Andover, an artery of traffic that was soon to be marked with the graves of hundreds — Esbjörn's son among them — who perished from cholera and other diseases. At Cleveland the party was detained for four days by the sequestration for debt of their ship, the "Globe." Through the intervention of the mayor the party was allowed to proceed on another boat without additional charge. Death took heavy toll, and sickness laid many low. Esbjörn himself was seized with cholera in Chicago and was treated with much kindness and charity by citizens of that city. The larger part of his company continued the journey. When the pastor arrived at Andover, he found that most of them had been convinced by Jonas Hedström that Andover was an unhealthful place and had joined his colony at Victoria.

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[13] Esbjörn was a voluminous correspondent. Many of his manuscript letters have been preserved both in Sweden and in the United States, and a number were printed contemporaneously in the newspapers. He also kept a diary of the ocean voyage. The manuscript letters are in the Norelius collection and in the Constantine M. Esbjörn collection in the Augustana College library at Rock Island and in the Wieselgren collection in the *Stadsbibliotek* of Gothenburg. Extracts from his diary are printed in *Tidskrift för svensk ev. luth. kyrkohistoria i N. Amerika,* Rock Island, 1899, pp. 555–560, and in translation in the *Yearbook of the Swedish Historical Society of America,* 1923–1924, pp. 54–62. Some of the most important letters from Esbjörn to Norelius, Hasselquist, and Carlsson are printed in *Tidskrift,* 1899, pp. 244–554. Letters giving an account of his trip and his early impressions of America appear in the following Swedish newspapers: *Norrlands-Posten,* January 3, 7, June 20, 27, 1850; *Helsi,* January 18, 1850, October 1, 8, 15, 29, 1852; *Missions-Tidning,* Stockholm, June, 1850; *Lunds Missions-Tidning,* February, 1852 (also printed in

The Andover settlement was not far from Bishop Hill, and it did not take Esbjörn long to learn that a people indoctrinated with the perfectionist teaching of Eric Janson found the Lutheran doctrine of the total depravity of human nature a hard one. Although Hedström went just as far as Esbjörn in condemning Janson and all his works, the former preached a doctrine akin to Jansonism, namely, that the roots of sin can be plucked out in this life and that a person can be free from all sin if he is saved.[14] Esbjörn also learned that Gustaf Unonius, a former Uppsala student and then a clergyman in the Episcopal church, had visited the community and had sought to convince his hearers that his church was cut from the same pattern as the Church of Sweden. Of Unonius, Esbjörn wrote:

> He is in every sense of the word a " high churchman " and lays the greatest emphasis on the office of bishop, the apostolic succession, and all the abominations of Pusey, but he uses the liturgy of the Church of Sweden and misleads the credulous Swedes into thinking that he is a true Lutheran because he is under the bishop of Illinois, wears the clerical garb, etc., and that his congregation is Lutheran. After conforming to these things, swearing, drinking, etc., are minor matters.[15]

To make the confusion worse, the Baptists began to make inroads after Esbjörn had organized his congregation. When

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Helsi, October 1, 1852); and *Bibel-Wännen,* Lund, September, 1852. Several letters in English were printed in the *Home Missionary,* New York, the *Lutheran Observer,* Baltimore, the *Lutheran Standard,* Columbus, and the *Missionary,* Pittsburgh. Correspondence with the American Home Missionary Society is found in Norelius, *Historia,* 1:121–140. After his permanent return to Sweden, Esbjörn prepared a brief historical survey of the beginnings of Swedish Lutheranism, which was published in pamphlet form under the title *Berättelse om de svenska lutherska församlingarnas uppkomst och närvarande tillstånd framställd vid Upsala erkestifts prestmöte den 14 juni 1865.* Constantine M. Esbjörn collected a mass of letters and pamphlets preparatory to writing a biography of his father, but death cut his labors short.

[14] Perfectionism is not a doctrine of Methodism, but it is a fact that a number of Methodist preachers expounded it.

[15] *Helsi,* October 1, 1852.

a party of Hedbergians arrived direct from Sweden in the spring of 1852, he had hopes of valuable recruits for Lutheranism; but he soon learned to his sorrow that they had already been corrupted in Sweden by Baptist ideas. It was a blow to learn that Anders Wiberg, a former state church pastor in sympathy with the *läsare,* had gone over to the Baptist camp; he feared that its teachings would dominate the best element among the *läsare.* His prediction that Swedish Baptist preachers would soon leave the Old Country and become his adversaries was soon fulfilled.[16] He was already fearful that the one-sidedness of the *läsare* teachings made them easy prey for the proselyters of any new-fangled religion — the same fear that made the parish pastors in Sweden so bitter against the colporteurs.

Harassed on all sides by sectarianism, a target for the taunts of people who had felt the sting of persecution from the ecclesiastical authorities in Sweden that he was in the service of the Church of Sweden, Esbjörn soon laid aside the clerical garb, departed from the liturgy, and adopted the usage of the reformed American churches by admitting to membership in his congregations only those who had experienced conversion to the extent that they were conscious of their sins and had a living hunger for salvation in Christ.[17] In his first printed appeal to the Scandinavians to affiliate with Lutheran congregations, published in 1850, he emphasized the distinction between religious conditions in the United States and Sweden, greatly to the advantage of the former, especially in so far as Lutheranism was concerned. It was, therefore, a virtue in the church he represented to be apart from and unlike the old church. He warned against proselyters and exhorted his countrymen to remain loyal to the Augsburg Confession and Luther's Smaller Catechism.[18] When the Lutheran congregation was organized at Andover on March 18, 1850, only ten charter members could be mustered, and so hostile were the people to the state church that Esbjörn did not dare to enroll them in the church book he had brought from Sweden.

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[16] *Helsi,* October 8, 1852.

[17] Esbjörn to Wieselgren, May 23, 1850; E. Norelius, "Personliga hågkomster af L. P. Esbjörn," *Tidskrift,* 1899, pp. 562–563.

[18] *Wälkomst helsning till den swenska, norska och danska emigranten.* This pamphlet was written by Esbjörn and its publication was financed by William A. Passavant of Pittsburgh, who from the beginning was interested in gathering the Scandinavian immigrants into the Lutheran fold. The pamphlet is preserved in the Norelius and C. M. Esbjörn collections and has been reprinted in several places. It was published in *Lunds Missions-Tidning,* March, 1852.

Although Esbjörn obtained a leave of absence from the Church of Sweden and went to America as an emissary of the Swedish Missionary Society, the financial support from the Old Country was so meager that when he arrived at Andover he was almost penniless. When late in 1852 Erik Norelius for the first time met the man who was to become his intimate friend and spiritual adviser, he saw a middle-aged man dressed in a ragged ministerial suit, tutoring two American girls in geometry. His table was bare of everything but the necessities of life. Shaking with ague, he was obliged to attend to the duties of a farm of about five acres. The November rains had made the muddy Illinois roads almost bottomless, but in spite of everything he made regular visits to Galesburg, Henderson, Rock Island, and Moline, in a rickety vehicle drawn by a single horse.

Before the arrival of Esbjörn other Swedish Lutheran pastors had been laboring in the field, but they did not succeed in establishing permanent congregations. In the latter part of 1844 or at the beginning of 1845 P. W. Böckman, a pastor in the Church of Sweden, came to the Swedish settlement at Pine Lake, Wisconsin. At that time the founder of the community, Gustaf Unonius, was a student in the Episcopal seminary at Nashotah, preparing to serve his countrymen in the service of the Protestant Episcopal church. Unonius was not unwilling that Böckman should take charge during his absence of religious work among the Swedes and Norwegians, but the latter proved a dismal failure. Böckman's character was not above reproach, a fact that had cost him the opportunity of service as a missionary in America under the auspices of the Swedish Missionary Society; after arrangements had been almost completed, with the assistance of Fjellstedt, an investigation of his character had ended the project. Contributions from individuals, however, made it possible for him to leave for America, where he represented himself as an emissary of the Church of Sweden. In 1846 he wrote a letter to *Aftonbladet* soliciting contributions for a church edifice and assistance in shielding his countrymen from the various forms of heresy that surrounded them. Finding no interest in his efforts either in America or Sweden, Böckman returned to his native land some time before 1850.[19]

Another person who presumed upon the confidence of the Scandinavians in Chicago in 1847 was a certain Gustaf Smith, who represented himself as a Swedish Lutheran pastor. The first steps in organizing a congregation were taken, and the erection of a church was begun. In the meantime the " pastor " made a trip to St. Louis to solicit funds among the German Lutherans. He raised about six hundred dollars, and that was the last heard of Smith in Chicago.[20]

In 1848 a former curate in Pelarne, Småland, Carl Petter Agrelius, landed in Boston. In a letter of April 14, 1849, he wrote that when he had arrived in New York, on October 29, 1848, it had been his intention to begin pastoral work among the Scandinavians in Wisconsin. But he had learned that the more intelligent Scandinavians in New York were dissatisfied with Olof Gustaf Hedström because the former tailor was uneducated and intolerant; and upon the invitation of several Scandinavians who wished for a minister true to the Lutheran doctrine he had decided to remain and in November had begun to preach in a small room belonging to a Swede named Sundström, a sail-maker of some means, who had taken the initiative in calling him. Larger quarters in the Bowery were soon engaged, and at the time the letter was written there were said to be sixty paying members, not including contributors among the captains of ships flying the flags of the three Scandinavian kingdoms. Agrelius hoped that the governments and the ship companies would make contributions, and he saw better prospects of making a living for himself and his family in New York than Sweden had furnished. In fact, he was rather boastful of the salary that was coming to him. He had drawn up a constitution for the congregation, and officers had already been elected. Americans were expected to furnish funds for the church edifice.[21]

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[19] The *Aftonbladet* letter was published in 1856 as a pamphlet entitled *Extract from a Letter from North America.* See Unonius, *Minnen från en sjuttonårig vistelse i nordvestra Amerika,* 2: 128–134; Norelius, *Historia,* 1: 6–14. Norelius attempts a defense of Böckman against the attack of Unonius, but letters in the Wieselgren collection convict him of conduct unbecoming a minister of the gospel.

[20] Norelius, *Historia,* 1:367.

Agrelius' hopes seem to have been founded on thin air, however, for in a letter of May 6, 1850, Esbjörn reported that the minister was a co-laborer with Jonas Hedström in Victoria. "What everybody with any judgment expected," wrote Esbjörn, "has happened."

> It was not possible to organize a congregation of Swedes who wished to know nothing of piety. How far from the facts his own optimistic statement was may be seen in the fact that shortly after my arrival he went over to the Methodists, who immediately sent him here to assist Hedström. Promises of a living from this source seem to have gone up in smoke. Some time ago he was compelled to walk eighteen miles to preach to a Methodist congregation and back, whereas his superior rides around in a spring buggy.[22]

A more successful attempt to establish Lutheranism was made in the so-called Cassel settlement at New Sweden, in Jefferson County, Iowa. Feeling the need of religious meetings, the settlers prevailed upon Magnus F. Håkanson, an emigrant from Stockholm who was a disciple of Sellergren, the well-known *läsare* pastor, to become their shepherd. Håkanson, being a layman, felt himself incompetent to be a religious leader, but in 1848 he yielded to the importunity of his countrymen, and some time later he was regularly ordained. Peter Cassel wrote of him as follows:

> During the past eleven months he has preached every Sunday and holy day; on week days he works the same as the rest of us, because his remarkable preaching ability makes it unnecessary for him to write his sermons. One Sunday I heard him preach for over two hours, and he was as fluent the second hour as the first. . . . We are thirteen families who contribute to the support of the pastor, and four families are privileged to belong to the congregation during the present year without contributing anything.[23]

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[21] The letter was published in several papers in Sweden. The present author copied it from *Östgötha Correspondenten,* July 4, 1849.

[22] *Norrlands-Posten,* June 20, 27, 1850. Esbjörn had read Agrelius' letter in this paper. Agrelius had a long, though not important, career as a Methodist pastor. His ability was perhaps less than mediocre.

[23] George M. Stephenson, "Documents Relating to Peter Cassel and the Settlement at New Sweden, Iowa," *Swedish-American Historical Bulletin,* February, 1929, pp. 74–75; Norelius, *Historia,* 1: 87–89. The names of the charter members of the congregation are given in a pamphlet published in connection with the diamond jubilee on September 16, 1923, and entitled *History of the New Sweden Lutheran Church.*

Esbjörn's problems were as great as those of his forerunners, but his superior training and ability, coupled with fortuitous contacts of which he knew how to take advantage, brought better results. As stated above, when Esbjörn was in New York he was recommended to the American Home Missionary Society by Robert Baird. Although this energetic organization, which was supported by Congregationalists and one school of Presbyterians, recognized no denominational boundaries in assisting needy pastors, it could do nothing for Esbjörn because he was not affiliated with any ecclesiastical body. Upon his arrival in the West Esbjörn got in touch with President Blanchard of Knox College at Galesburg, who saw the necessity of religious work among the Swedes in that city and the surrounding country. Blanchard was instrumental in securing subscriptions from his fellow citizens for the erection of a Swedish Lutheran church and in assisting Esbjörn to obtain a stipend of three hundred dollars from the American Home Missionary Society.

Esbjörn reported to the Swedish Missionary Society that until a Lutheran synod was organized in Illinois he was to be under the Central Association of Illinois, but that he was to preach, administer the sacraments, and conduct services as a Lutheran clergyman. He inclosed a clipping from the *Missionary,* a Lutheran periodical published at Pittsburgh by William A. Passavant, in order that the people of Sweden might be correctly informed about the arrangements and that reports spread by Eric-Jansonists and Methodists of his having left the Lutheran church for Calvinism might be counteracted. The only condition laid down in Esbjörn's contract with the society was that none but "believers" should be accepted into membership, a provision that was expected to occasion polemical writings in Sweden.[24] Thus it was that the American dollar came to the support of missionary work among the Swedes in America, just as it had done and was to continue to do in Sweden.

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[24] *Missions-Tidning,* June, 1850. Esbjörn's contract with the Missionary Society, which is preserved in the Norelius collection, bears the date January 14, 1850. It is translated into Swedish and printed, with accompanying correspondence, in Norelius, *Historia,* 1:125–130. Reports and letters from Esbjörn were printed in the *Home Missionary,* the organ of the society. Norelius, who wrote with a strong symbolical Lutheran bias (1:140 ff.), condemns his intimate friend Esbjörn for accepting aid from the American Home Missionary Society. He asks, "How could Esbjörn throw himself into the arms of such a thoroughly reformed, puritanical, and in all respects

It is impossible for men and women of this generation to comprehend the problems that confronted the pioneer Swedish pastor. He found his countrymen scattered in small communities, struggling with poverty and laboring to make adjustment to an entirely new set of conditions. The Lutheran church, while not insignificant in membership, was divided into mutually hostile synods and torn with doctrinal and nationalistic dissension. From the first, however, some of the Lutheran leaders, notably Passavant, and the editors of certain Lutheran papers took a benevolent interest in the welfare of the Swedish immigrants.

During the summer of 1851 Esbjörn visited Ohio, Pennsylvania, New York, and Massachusetts in order to enlist the support of Lutheran synods and churchmen outside the Lutheran faith. He succeeded in raising about twenty-two hundred dollars, of which the Swedish singer Jenny Lind, who was then making a concert tour of the country, contributed fifteen hundred. Besides occupying himself with the prosaic task of soliciting money and writing letters to Sweden appealing for pastors to serve on the American mission field, Esbjörn organized congregations, built churches, made preaching tours, and served his countrymen in countless ways. In short, his work was typical of the frontier circuit rider, who appears picturesque enough in the pages of history, but who actually engaged in a ceaseless struggle with a fickle nature, bad roads, and a stony soil for the seeds of the gospel.

Sooner or later Esbjörn had to come to a decision with reference to synodical affiliation for the congregations under his care. In the divided state of American Lutheranism this problem must have given him many anxious hours. He found that much that bore the name "Lutheran" was pseudo-Lutheran;

anti-Lutheran society?" He lays it to economic necessity, which it undoubtedly was; but it is difficult to see in what respect Lutheranism was compromised, in view of the fact that the aid was granted without pledging the beneficiary to any doctrinal position. Norelius is of the opinion that at the time Esbjörn was a little vague on certain fundamentals of Lutheran doctrine and did not fully understand the nature of Puritanism. The fact of the matter is that from the time of Esbjörn to the present the Swedish Lutheran church in America has been strongly tinged with Puritanism and Calvinism.

that many congregations and synods accepted the Augsburg Confession as "substantially correct"; and that a fierce warfare was being waged between the "Old Lutherans" — those who stood fast by the Augsburg Confession as explained in the symbolical books — and the "New Lutherans," who rejected the symbols and departed more or less from the Confession, adopted "new measures," such as the Sunday school, prayer meetings, and revival meetings, and excluded from membership all but those who gave evidence of conversion. In other words, Esbjörn found the Lutheran church on the high road to Calvinism and in a fair way to develop a liberal theology departing widely from European Lutheranism in doctrine and polity.[25]

He came with a distinctly liberal spirit, but experience with the proselyting activities of a variety of sects hardened him into an uncompromising symbolist, although he was sometimes forced to trim his sails to meet this or that situation during the twelve years of his activity in America. In spite of his own opinions and convictions the church he founded bears a far closer resemblance to the American churches than to the Church of Sweden. Before the Swedish congregations were united into an independent nationalistic synod, they sojourned for a decade in a synod strongly tinged with Calvinism, an affiliation dictated more by necessity than by choice.

Several alternatives were open to Esbjörn. He might have joined with a few Norwegian churches in Wisconsin and formed a separate synod; but their leaders had imbibed high-church tendencies at the University of Oslo. The Joint Synod of Ohio was aspiring to the leadership of middle western Lutheranism and would have welcomed the admission of the Swedish congregations; but Esbjörn felt that their churches were too remote for hearty cooperation. The German synods were likewise distant and they were, moreover, torn with dissension. The English synods in the East were still more remote and they were contaminated with "New Lutheranism." When, therefore, a Norwegian Lutheran minister in Chicago,

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[25] This subject is treated at length in Vergilius Ferm, *The Crisis in American Lutheran Theology. A Study of the Issue between American Lutheranism and Old Lutheranism,* New York, 1927.

Paul Anderson, who had organized a handful of like-minded Norwegians into a conference and had manifested an interest in Esbjörn and his countrymen, suggested that his Norwegians and Esbjörn's Swedes unite with Americans in organizing a synod in the West, where problems common to all frontier churches could be solved, the Swedish pastor responded favorably.[26]

In so doing Esbjörn followed the lead of an ultra-liberal. Anderson had come to America in 1843, six years before Esbjörn, and had been educated at Beloit College. He had grown up doctrinally in a Presbyterian environment, and but for the protests of his Presbyterian friends would have been ordained into the Presbyterian ministry. Instead he was ordained by the Franckean Synod, probably the most liberal Lutheran synod in the country. In his articles in Lutheran papers he put himself squarely on record as favoring " new measures," and he minced no words in condemning the intolerance of the " Old Lutherans," who called Anderson and his kind " seceders," " schismatics," " Methodists," and so forth. Finding the company of the orthodox western Lutherans uncongenial, Anderson corresponded with the more liberal brethren with a view to organizing a synod on a latitudinarian basis.[27] These negotiations culminated in the organization of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Northern Illinois at Cedarville, on September 18, 1851.

Esbjörn was not present on the first day of the convention, when the constitution was adopted. The following day he arrived with his lay delegate and applied for admission, which was granted. The Swedish pastor, however, was not entirely satisfied with the doctrinal basis of the new synod, which accepted the Augsburg Confession as " mainly correct." Accordingly the synod granted his request to have printed in the minutes the principles on which his congregations were organized, namely, "that the symbolical books of the Lutheran church contain a correct summary and exposition of the divine word; wherefore we declare and adopt them as the foundation of our faith and doctrine, next to the Holy Scriptures." At the second convention of the Synod of Northern Illinois, in October, 1852, Esbjörn's loyalty to the Lutheran symbols was again evident. When it was proposed that the organization become a district synod of the General Synod — a general advisory body embracing about two-thirds of the Lutherans in America — a committee of three, of which Esbjörn was a member, recommended affiliation "provided that this union shall not be construed into an acknowledgment on the part of all the members of the Synod of Northern Illinois of the precise doctrinal basis of the General Synod." Esbjörn was hopeful that the entrance of the Illinois Synod would augment the forces of conservative Lutheranism and eventually quench the loose, unsymbolical spirit in the larger body.

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[26] For citations of the sources the reader is referred to George M. Stephenson, *The Founding of the Augustana Synod, 1850–1860,* Rock Island, 1927, pp. 14–21.

[27] Esbjörn seems to have relied on Anderson for advice. According to the report of President Diefendorf to the Franckean Synod in 1850, Anderson stated in a public letter that the Andover congregation adopted the government and discipline of the Franckean Synod. *Journal of the 13th Annual Session of the Franckean Evangelic Lutheran Synod, Convened at La Fargeville, Jefferson County, New York, June 6, 1850.*

When the Swedish Lutheran congregations became constituent parts of a "mixed" synod of English, German, and Norwegian churches, a radical departure was made from the course of other foreign-language groups, and it was destined to have far-reaching consequences. Esbjörn was aware of the hostility of a certain element in the Synod of Northern Illinois to orthodoxy, but he trusted that with the increasing immigration of Swedes the conservatives would eventually be in the majority. His correspondence reveals that he had correctly gauged the rising tide of confessional Lutheranism, and he lived to witness the realization of his hopes. The key to Esbjörn's career as a pastor in the Synod of Northern Illinois, however, lies in the fact that he appears in the rôle of a "defender of the faith," always suspicious, sometimes unduly so, of the exponents of "American" Lutheranism. The crying need of the Lutheran church was for men with the ability to differ gracefully, and Esbjörn was not endowed with that supreme gift. Nevertheless, ten years of cooperation with brethren of quite different antecedents, training, and outlook placed a distinct stamp on the Swedish Lutheran church and shaped its destiny.

CHAPTER XII

THE CO-LABORERS OF ESBJÖRN

THOUGH Esbjörn's first concern was to gather his countrymen into the Lutheran fold, to organize congregations, and to enlist the financial support of synods and individuals by appeals through church papers and interviews, he also wrote many letters to Sweden appealing for pastors to assist him in his multifarious duties. He was most fortunate in recruiting two energetic and able men, Tuve Nilsson Hasselquist and Erland Carlsson, who arrived in 1852 and 1853, respectively. The former was the most versatile and the ablest leader in the annals of Swedish-American Lutheranism; the latter was a man of affairs and a business manager. Both were active for about forty years, during thirty of which, after Esbjörn's return to Sweden, they steered the ecclesiastical ship.

The circumstances of Hasselquist's emigration are interesting. Through correspondence with Fjellstedt and Wieselgren, Esbjörn was informed about possible candidates. Even Fjellstedt had a " call " in 1852 and was sorely tempted to accept, but finally concluded that Sweden offered a greater field.[1] The Augustana Synod is deeply indebted to him, however, for his part in recruiting pastors, not the least of whom was Hasselquist.

In 1851 a son of Hasselquist's sister immigrated and settled at Galesburg. On his frequent visits to this Swedish settlement Esbjörn made the acquaintance of this man, as well as of another pioneer who told him that if Hasselquist could be induced to take over the work in Galesburg, the Swedes would have an excellent pastor. Hasselquist's nephew expressed the opinion that his uncle might possibly be induced to come.[2] On January 24, 1852, Hasselquist wrote to Wieselgren in reply to an important letter he had received from him through Fjellstedt. His reason for not replying more promptly

[1] Emilia Ahnfelt-Laurin, *Fjellstedt,* 170–171.
[2] Norelius, *Hasselquist,* 21–22; *Ungdomsvännen,* January, 1881.

was a notice from the post office that another letter from America had arrived, and he thought its contents might affect his reply to Wieselgren. The letter was from the pioneer at Galesburg asking him to come to America. He solicited Wieselgren's advice. For two months Hasselquist weighed the matter. At one time he decided to remain in Sweden, on condition that another minister who was under consideration was willing to go. He was in agreement with Esbjörn that care should be exercised in selecting ministers for America to make sure that they were good Lutherans and able to withstand the lure of Methodism. Urged by Wieselgren and Fjellstedt and by parishioners of his who were making preparations to emigrate in a large company, he made the most momentous decision in his life when he learned from Fjellstedt that the candidate from Småland had declined to enlist in the American service. The decision was made the more easily because of the promise of departing emigrants to pay the cost of his passage; but he inquired of Wieselgren if there were any way of raising money in Sweden to pay the cost of purchasing a church in Galesburg, which Esbjörn had mentioned. The upshot of these negotiations was that he was granted a three years' leave of absence to serve as pastor among the Swedes in America, with the privilege of counting the interval as service in the state church if he served his calling continuously.[3]

If ever there was a "man for the place," it was Hasselquist from the time he arrived at Galesburg, on October 28, 1852. The large, powerful man who served successively as curate in several parishes in the diocese of Lund gained the reputation of preaching sermons that soothed his hearers like a fresh breeze and of chanting like an angel. He was closely associated with, and influenced by, Hammar and Bergman, known for their piety and free-church tendencies, and he was active in the Kristianstad Tract Society. Hasselquist was born at Hasslaröd, Ousby parish, Skåne, on March 2, 1816, and was thus only thirty-six years of age when he and his refined and gifted wife essayed the rôle of pioneers. He was throughout his life a bitter enemy of liquor and tobacco and had as long a list of forbidden things of the world as any New England Puritan. Twelve years before he thought of coming to America, in thanking Wieselgren for the hospitality of his home, he wrote that he had made temperance speeches before large audiences and that through his influence some people had given up distilling *brännvin*.[4] Through intimate association with such radicals as Bergman and Hammar, he had imbibed so liberally of the free-church spirit that he could never reconcile himself to a state church system. After eighteen years' experience with free churches he could still write: "For my part I cannot love the state church; it is most certainly inconsistent with both the Word of God and all experience. . . . Church and state are so interwoven that it is often difficult to distinguish between them."[5]

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[3] In the Wieselgren collection are letters from Hasselquist pertaining to his call dated January 24, February 12, March 28, and April 23, 1852. *Skånska Posten*, July 21, 1852, contains the item with reference to the leave of absence.

The free religious atmosphere of America worked like an elixir on Hasselquist; he became more free, whereas Esbjörn was sharply critical and adapted himself to American conditions more from necessity than from choice. In his earlier years Hasselquist would appear at the Sunday morning service dressed in a white linen coat, and as he walked to the front of the church he sometimes would sing one of Ahnfelt's songs, in which the congregation joined. In the pulpit he was equally informal, often interrupting his sermon by singing a familiar song. He saw no danger to Lutheran doctrine if the liturgy and certain forms were laid aside and if his church cooperated heartily with other denominations. Pressure from brother pastors in his own church, dissension within his own congregations between liberals and conservatives, and attacks from the Mission Friends caused him to modify his point of view somewhat; but throughout the years as theological professor and as editor he wielded an influence that placed the stamp of pietism and low-church form so securely on the Augustana Synod that it occupied a unique place among American Lutheran synods.[6]

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[4] Hasselquist's early letters to Wieselgren are dated December 29, 1840, March 27, August 25, October 23, 1841, and November 24, 1842.

[5] *Rätta Hemlandet och Augustana,* October, 1870.

[6] Norelius, *Hasselquist,* 52–54; Norelius, "Hågkomster från året 1854"; *Korsbaneret,* 1888, pp. 110–111. The issue of *Augustana* for April 16, 1891, is a "Hasselquist number."

He was perhaps the poorest parliamentarian ever to be elected to the presidency of the synod, a position he occupied from 1860 to 1870; but his winning personality won respect and admiration.

It is easy to understand why he made frequent complaint of weariness in his letters when it is known that during much of his life he served simultaneously as editor, college president, professor, pastor of a congregation, instructor of confirmands, and president of the synod. This last office entailed the duties of dedicating churches, holding communion services, confirming children, making preaching tours, ironing out cases of discipline, and so forth. He knew the inmost thoughts of his people as perhaps few churchmen have known them. In pioneer homes he partook of frugal meals, shared beds, drove hundreds of miles by horse, sometimes sleeping in deserted cabins or in the open. His long and able editorials and articles reveal a keen interest in life to the very end of his long pilgrimage. In the sixties and seventies he shared with Erland Carlsson the heaviest burdens of the Augustana Synod. In 1868 both men were in poor health. If death had robbed the church of these able and experienced men, the situation would have been serious, because the younger pastors were inferior in education, training, and experience. How many men were induced to enter the ministry and to take a new lease on life through Hasselquist's influence can never be estimated.

An excellent example of his effective preaching is found in a sermon delivered at Galesburg in 1860. Times were hard and the public was agitated by bewildering problems. He began by telling his hearers that many who were troubled by unemployment, low wages, and agricultural depression were considering moving elsewhere in the hope of bettering their circumstances. What would they say, he asked them, if he were to tell them about a place that satisfied all requirements? If they wanted good soil, prairies, good facilities for water, a climate not too cold in winter and not too hot in summer, inexpensive building material, freedom from Indians, good neighbors, and land that could be acquired on good terms, then they should let the Scriptures be their guide and a home in Heaven would be theirs. There a free homestead law had been in full operation for a long time, and all that was necessary was to take a claim without money and without price.[7] One can scarcely conceive of a pastor in the state church preaching a sermon after this pattern.

The third member of the triumvirate of leaders during the first ten years of Swedish Lutheranism in America was Erland Carlsson, who, like Esbjörn and Hasselquist, had been in correspondence with Wieselgren and Fjellstedt long before the idea of migrating to America occurred to him.[8] Carlsson was born in Suletorp, Elghult parish, Småland, on August 24, 1822. He studied at the University of Lund and was ordained in the cathedral at Växjö on June 10, 1849. He was thus Hasselquist's junior by six years and had had fourteen years' experience as a minister of the gospel when he arrived at Chicago on August 22, 1853, to take up the work in a new field. He had read Schartau, Rosenius, and Nohrborg and had come under the influence of the Sellergren revival, but he was more churchly than Hasselquist. His activity in the temperance movement had brought him into difficulties with the bishop of Växjö and others in the consistory, and in consequence he had been shifted from one congregation to another and had never risen above the rank of curate. This experience probably made him listen more readily to the call from America, which was extended to him through Fjellstedt.

On his journey from New York to Galesburg, Hasselquist had sojourned for a few days in Chicago at the home of Paul Anderson, who had exacted from his guest the promise that at the earliest opportunity he would return to organize a Swedish congregation. In January, 1853, the promise was kept, and Hasselquist rode by stage from Moline to Chicago. The new congregation extended a call to a pastor in Småland through Fjellstedt, who was authorized to engage another man in the event that the person in question returned a negative reply. The choice fell upon Carlsson, who was granted a leave of absence of six years on the same terms as Hasselquist. With a party of 176 emigrants, including many women and children, Carlsson sailed from Kalmar on June 4, 1853, on the "Gauthiod."[9]

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[7] T. N. Hasselquist, "Låtom oss fara öfwer till den andra stranden," *Predikan på fjerde söndagen efter trettondedagen hållen i Galesburg och Knoxville, Ills.*, Sölvesborg, 1860.

[8] There are several letters from Carlsson in the Wieselgren collection. A letter dated June 3, 1848, written from Lund and Uppåkra, is among the most important in revealing his contacts with Wieselgren, Fjellstedt, and a Pastor Gustafsson, who figures also in Hasselquist's letters to Wieselgren.

Throughout the twenty-two years during which he served the Immanuel Church, Carlsson rendered invaluable services not only to the Swedish Lutheran church, but to others of his countrymen, regardless of their religious affiliations. Chicago was the clearing house of immigration, and it was said that Carlsson's home was a "miniature Castle Garden." In fact, so constant was the stream of immigrants coming to his residence that his landlady compelled him to move. So heavy was his correspondence and so numerous were the letters from Sweden to relatives and friends in America addressed to Carlsson with the request that they be forwarded to the right parties, that he was forced to serve notice that, although he was willing to render this service, he must decline to accept letters that were not postpaid. In a letter dated February 14, 1855, Carlsson gives a graphic picture of his routine:

> If our work as pastors here were judged by the membership of our congregations, it might be thought that we are not very busy. But everything is new here. Congregations must be organized; constitutions adopted; by-laws drawn up; churches built, etc. Besides, duties are increased tenfold by the multitudes who are carried with the stream of emigration through this city or who reside here a few months. They are unable to rent a room, obtain employment, consult a physician, etc., without assistance, and usually it is the pastor who is called upon. The reason for this is that they are unfamiliar with the language. But even though they have learned enough to get along in everyday affairs, they are, nevertheless, helpless when business is transacted, a contract drawn up, a bill of exchange sent to Sweden or cashed — in all such matters the pastor must stand ready to help. Add to this the fact that from east to west letters are addressed to him. Sometimes I have brought with me to church more than fifty letters. Then there are scores of letters containing every conceivable kind of inquiries to be answered. Moreover, the pastor must take part in secular activities,

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[9] Items from Växjö and Kalmar in *Aftonbladet,* June 9, 1853. Valuable biographical sketches of Carlsson and of the history of the Immanuel Church in Chicago are found in *Korsbaneret,* 1881, pp. 67–126, and Forsander, *Lifsbilder,* första delen.

and I have fully as many of them as any pastor in the most populous parish in Sweden. I keep office hours from 8 to 10 A. M. and from 2 to 3 P. M., and people ordinarily come in a constant stream. It is seldom that I am left alone at the other hours. I am teaching English to a class of children a few hours a week. I am instructing confirmands at two places: twelve in St. Charles and twenty in Chicago. Under the weight of so many burdens not only does one become fatigued physically and mentally, but there is danger of destroying the life of the spirit. . . . Our churches are filled with attentive listeners, and the number of members has materially increased in more recent times. I have six congregations under my care, which I visit regularly every month. When congregations are organized, it is necessary to build churches; and that is no easy problem.[10]

Through letters published in the newspapers of Sweden and through a *Guide for Emigrants,* published as a pamphlet and as a serial article in several papers, Carlsson became well known, and many left for America counting on advice and assistance from him.[11] He was commissioned by the Swedish Mississippi Conference of the Synod of Northern Illinois to prepare an emigrant guide, in which was included, in addition to suggestions with reference to provisions, exchange, and health, warnings against fraud and trickery, advice to the emigrants to bring certain devotional books, catechisms, hymn books, Bibles, and primers. Certain countrymen in America, he asserted, would recommend other devotional books and some would advise burning them. The " sect-makers " would cry, "Away with Luther, away with the Catechism, away with all human writings! We have the Bible, and that is all-sufficient." They could expect to hear harsh words about the Lutheran church and her traditions, he said.

Carlsson's services to his countrymen were typical of those rendered by many pastors, although probably none of the others were privileged to experience such strenuous training in pastoral theology. His personal contacts extended to all parts of the domain of Swedish America, and the synod took advantage of his rich experience by assigning him to many committees and boards. The constitution he drew up for the Immanuel congregation, a more or less modified version of the constitution of the congregations in the Synod of Northern Illinois, became the model for others.[12] Esbjörn and Hasselquist soon laid aside every vestige of the clerical garb, but Carlsson wore not only the bands and frock but also the gown, which occasioned not a little criticism from Methodists and Baptists. Even Paul Anderson, the "reformed" Norwegian Lutheran pastor, was much disturbed over Carlsson's custom of donning these vestments in his home and walking in them to church, and he threatened to melt tallow on the gown to make it appetizing to the mice. The gown smacked too strongly of the state church to make it sightly even to Lutherans, and it became the custom to make use of the bands and the frock only and to omit the gown. In recent years the gown has grown in favor in congregations where the appearance of the minister thus clothed in the days of Esbjörn and Hasselquist might have caused the re-enactment of the scene of the "flight of Jenny's stool."

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[10] *Nya Wexjö-Bladet,* April 13, 1855.

[11] Erland Carlsson, *Tillförlitiga råd och underrättelser för utwandrare till Amerika, nemligen: I. Råd och underrättelser. II. Upplysningar om mynt, mått, wigt, prowiantering och kostnader för resan m. m. III. Utdrag af bref från i Amerika wistande swenskar. IV. Ordregister,* Karlshamn, 1854. Part I was written by Carlsson and the other parts by the publisher. Part I was published separately at Växjö in 1854, and serially in *Nya Wexjö-Bladet,* May 26–June 2, *Norrlands-Posten,* August 7–17, *Hwad Nytt?* Eksjö, June 9–13, 1854, and probably in other papers. The issue of *Borås Tidning* for July 14, 1853, contains an "Address to My Countrymen" by Carlsson, in which he warns them against fraudulent contracts.

Chicago was the most difficult field in the Augustana Synod. Every conceivable type of Swede drifted into the Swedish colony on the North Side. Carlsson was the target for the shafts of Episcopalians, Methodists, Baptists, Mission Friends, and agnostics; but he could "give" more easily than he could "take." In answer to his sermons, which sometimes descended to personalities, condemning the theater, card table, dance hall, saloon, and lodge, rowdies on occasion descended on his church during the hour of service, beat tin pans, kicked open doors, and broke windows.[13] But the pastor from Småland was not to be intimidated.

Two more names complete the roster of state church pastors who joined forces in laying the foundations of the Swedish Lutheran church in the years from 1850 to 1860. The last two arrived in 1856. Macedonian cries from the Mississippi Valley fell on the deaf ears of other parish pastors. In February, 1855, Erland Carlsson wrote to Sweden that C. M. Swensson had declined a call to congregations in Minnesota and in his stead Pastor Lundgren, a missionary in India, had been named. The congregation in New York had expressed a preference for G. Janzon, a prominent pastor in Stockholm; Ahlberg in Östergötland had promised to come to Moline; and there was some talk of calling Jonas Swensson, who was associated with Olof Christian Telemak Andrén of Unnaryd.[14] Fate decreed that only the last two should cast their lot in America, and again Fjellstedt was the medium through whom the calls were extended. Both were deeply spiritual men, with a strong strain of pietism, and kindred souls with their co-laborers in America. Andrén was educated at Lund, and Swensson at Uppsala.[15] It is interesting to note that Esbjörn was from the diocese of Uppsala; Hasselquist and Andrén from Lund; and Carlsson and Swensson from Växjö. Thus four of them were from southern Sweden, and all of them were pietists. Andrén devoted the four years of his activity in America to the field in Moline; Swensson, after serving congregations at Hessel Valley, Pennsylvania, and Jamestown, New York, succeeded Esbjörn at Andover in 1858, where he labored until his death in 1873.

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[12] Forsander, *Lifsbilder*, första delen, 112.

[13] See George M. Stephenson, "The Stormy Years of the Swedish Colony in Chicago before the Great Fire," *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society*, Publication No. 36, Springfield, 1930.

Following the leadership of these five men educated and ordained in Sweden and bearing the prestige of this experience, were a handful of men ordained by the Synod of Northern Illinois after a short probationary training and apprenticeship as lay preachers, during which they were designated as licentiates. Outstanding in ability and training among them was Erik Norelius, who was born on October 26, 1833, at Hassela, Hälsingland, and was thus a native of that part of Sweden familiar to Esbjörn. This circumstance explains why he became an intimate friend of the latter, why he followed his leadership rather than Hasselquist's, and why the pages of his historical writings are colored with a strong Esbjörn bias.

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[14] *Nya Wexjö-Bladet,* April 13, 1855.

[15] Biographical sketches of Swensson and Andrén are found in Norelius, *Historia,* 1: 186–225, 271–366.

Norelius came to America in 1850 with a party of Hedbergians from Hälsingland who hoped to found a " true " Lutheran congregation free to use the " old books " that had been discarded by the state church. One looks in vain for enthusiasm for the Church of Sweden in the voluminous writings of Norelius, who was destined to play an important part in Swedish Lutheranism as pastor, teacher, editor, and synodical president until his death in 1916. Upon the advice of Esbjörn he spent the years from 1851 to 1855 as a student at Capital University at Columbus, Ohio, an institution of the Joint Synod of Ohio. He inhaled the atmosphere of symbolism peculiar to that body long enough to learn to shy at unionism and to be repelled at the free and easy ways of Hasselquist. A man of thought rather than of action, lacking the finesse of the expert church politician, and vacillating at times, Norelius never reached the eminence attained by Esbjörn, Hasselquist, and Carlsson; but his sincerity, self-sacrificing devotion, democracy, and interest in things of the intellect, coupled with an inoffensive sense of humor, always commanded respect. Poverty stood in the way of training at a first-class educational institution, and he was doomed to an academic career at a newly founded institution that was financially no better off than he. He probably profited more by his associations with Esbjörn, Hasselquist, and Carlsson.[16]

The first decade of Swedish Lutheran history is rich in personalities. What Lutheranism imported from Sweden was not a moribund set of dogmas and creeds; it was a vital, dynamic, living organism propagated by men who personified a faith that had withstood the ordeal of persecution and that grew stronger in a frontier environment, where it was unhampered by the trammels of a declining ecclesiastical establishment. Nothing could be more unhistorical than to designate the Augustana Synod as the " daughter " of the Church of Sweden.

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[16] Norelius' reminiscences and diary, " Några minnesteckningar," are published serially in *Augustana,* beginning July 30, 1930. The foreword bears the date 1916. Norelius died at Vasa, Minnesota, on March 15, 1916. The manuscript remained in the possession of his son, Leonard Norelius, until it was submitted for publication.

The founders, to be sure, brought with them the Augsburg Confession and the symbolical books, but even these took on a new meaning. The message of the gospel was imparted through the medium of the Swedish language, but even Swedish nouns were unequal to the task of beating back the invasion of English. And in polity and practice the Augustana Synod has far more in common with Congregationalism and Presbyterianism than it has with European Lutheranism.

CHAPTER XIII

THE SWEDISH LUTHERAN CHURCH IN THE SYNOD OF NORTHERN ILLINOIS

WHEN Esbjörn applied for admission to the Synod of Northern Illinois in September, 1851, he committed the Swedish Lutheran church to an experiment in cooperation with American, German, and Norwegian congregations in a "mixed" synod. The experiment was to last nine years and then to end in dismal failure with the revolutionary act of secession of the Scandinavian congregations. We have seen that Esbjörn's loyalty to the Lutheran symbols impelled him to safeguard the doctrinal position of his congregations by having printed in the minutes a statement of their doctrinal basis. It was the dire necessity of establishing synodical connections for his poverty-stricken congregations, coupled with the hope that "Old Lutheranism" would eventually overwhelm the "new measure" element in the Synod of Northern Illinois and in the General Synod, of which the former was a district synod, that dictated his action. Although for a while he felt that time had justified his course, he had many uneasy hours and finally by an act of impulse severed the bonds he had been instrumental in forging.[1]

As a beneficiary of the American Home Missionary Society, Esbjörn was obliged to establish synodical connections. The instructions of the society were specific in requiring that applicants for membership in his congregations be admitted only upon evidence of a living faith; confirmation, which was all that was demanded by certain Lutheran synods, more especially the German bodies, was not sufficient. This closed the doors to western synods outside of the General Synod. Moreover, the synods that were in a position to lend financial aid were districts of the general body and localized in the East. The columns of the most influential Lutheran papers, the *Lutheran Observer* at Baltimore and the *Missionary* at Pittsburgh, were open to the Swedish pastor as a General Synod man, and their editors had already shown a gratifying interest in the Swedish immigrants. This was particularly true of Passavant, the many-sided and energetic editor and publisher of the *Missionary,* who was in sympathy with conservative Lutheranism, although he opposed the union with the Synod of Northern Illinois. He advocated the organization of a Scandinavian synod as a district of the General Synod, for he foresaw the obstacles to hearty cooperation between men of varied doctrinal views, different intellectual attainments, and widely divergent traits and characteristics. It is entirely possible that if Hasselquist had occupied the position of Esbjörn, nationalistic prejudices, which swayed the latter so mightily, might have been softened. Hasselquist had no qualms of conscience in accepting aid from the American Home Missionary Society, and his correspondence with the American leaders in the General Synod and in the Synod of Northern Illinois reveals mutual friendliness and respect, not to say admiration.[2]

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[1] For citations to the sources for this chapter the reader is referred to Stephenson, *The Founding of the Augustana Synod, 1850–1860.* Material that was not at the disposal of the author when the former study was made is cited in the footnotes. Important documents are published in George M. Stephenson, "The Founding of the Augustana Synod: Illustrative Documents," *Swedish-American Historical Bulletin,* March, 1928, pp. 1–52.

Substantial aid in the erection of churches and chapels came in the form of contributions from Lutheran synods and from individuals, as well as from philanthropic persons of other creeds and nationalities in communities where the Swedes settled; but a most difficult problem that could not be solved in that way was to find and train men for the ministry. We have seen that fervent appeals to Fjellstedt and Wieselgren at first brought earnest, consecrated, and able men who had been educated and trained in Sweden; but after 1856 there were no further recruits from that source. In that year at a meeting of ministers and laymen in Sweden to consider the advisability of sending pastors to America, sentiments were expressed that probably reflected the prevailing opinion. The need of ministers in America was admitted, but it was objected that the need in the Old Country was just as great; that the immigrants had Bibles; and that they had left the fatherland on their own volition and for the sake of pecuniary gain. In commenting on this meeting the editor of *Kyrkowännen* added the further objection that the Swedes could not set up the episcopate because not even the president of the United States was at the head of the Lutheran or any other church. As editor of *Hemlandet,* which he had founded in January, 1855, Hasselquist deplored this spirit and was convinced that the only alternative was for Swedish-American Lutherans to train ministers in their own educational institution.[3] Undoubtedly the intense hostility of the Swedish press to emigration and to everything American helped to create this sentiment, and it may be that the sharp decline in emigration after 1856 was taken as an indication that emigration was only an ephemeral phenomenon.

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[2] Hasselquist's correspondence with, and reports to, the American Home Missionary Society are in the C. M. Esbjörn collection in the Augustana College Library.

Only four months after the organization of the Andover congregation, a Lutheran leader in Pennsylvania wrote to *Bibel-Wännen* (Lund) that plans were on foot to establish a Lutheran university at Columbus, Ohio, and that, in view of the increasing emigration from Norway and Sweden, the project included a Scandinavian professorship. Inasmuch as the same periodical had published, about a year previously, a letter from William M. Reynolds, professor in Gettysburg Theological Seminary, to the superintendent of the Mission Institute at Lund suggesting cooperation between Lutherans in America and Sweden, it is reasonable to infer that he was also the writer of the second letter.[4] The inference is strengthened by the fact that during the same year, 1850, Reynolds was elected to the presidency of Capital University at Columbus and that in 1852 he persuaded Jenny Lind to donate fifteen hundred dollars to endow a Scandinavian professorship at the institution, in the hope that Scandinavian students would be attracted by it. Capital University was under the control of the Joint Synod of Ohio, but Reynolds from the first had hopes of maneuvering that body into the General Synod, in whose mission he was a firm believer despite his well-known partiality to conservative Lutheranism. These efforts in behalf of

[3] *Hemlandet,* September 4, October 21, 1856, August 3, 1858.

[4] *Bibel-Wännen,* September, 1850. The letter is dated July 15.

the General Synod, coupled with personal difficulties, forced his resignation from the presidency in the early fall of 1854.

In view of Reynolds' great interest in the Swedes, the important part he played in the first decade of their history, and his close association with Esbjörn, we are constrained to play a searchlight on his character and personality. Esbjörn met him on his journey to the East in 1851, upon which he was accompanied by Norelius as far as Columbus, where the latter matriculated at Capital University. Esbjörn thought well enough of Reynolds to send his ten-year-old son with Norelius to enroll at his institution in the fall of 1854. When the students arrived at Columbus, however, Reynolds was no longer president.

Esbjörn wrote to Erland Carlsson that their greatest benefactor had departed because of opposition from the orthodox party. In answer to a letter from Norelius, in which were related some of the details of the dissension, Esbjörn expressed astonishment and surmised that both parties were obstinate.

> As early as 1851 I detected in the Ohio Synod a peculiar animosity on the part of the Germans whenever a question involving nationality arose. I believe, however, that the deepest roots of this tension lie, with many perhaps unconsciously, in a hazy presentiment of the incompatibility of the pure gospel with the reformed new measure spirit.

This letter is revealing, and the reader will do well to bear it in mind as he reads these pages. Another letter equally enlightening should be quoted in this connection.

> I am not surprised that you are considering joining the Ohio Synod. I would most certainly have done likewise, if its remoteness had not made it impossible for our Swedish pastors and congregations out here in the West to keep in communication with it. This being out of the question, I have always harbored the wish that we might have a Scandinavian synod. But so long as we are so few in numbers, it cannot be considered.[5]

If Reynolds had read these letters before 1857, when he assumed the presidency of Illinois State University, Esbjörn would have been his last choice, instead of his first, for the

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[5] These letters, dated October 28, 1854, December 23, 1854, and March 6, 1856, are printed in *Tidskrift,* 1899, pp. 268–274.

Scandinavian professorship. Obviously Esbjörn's affiliation with the Synod of Northern Illinois was one of expediency — not of conviction — and it was terminated when he deemed it possible to follow his conviction.

The history of Illinois State University is an integral part of the story of the first decade of Swedish Lutheranism and commands our attention as a basis for a proper understanding of the founding of the Augustana Synod. In 1849 a Lutheran academy was founded at Hillsboro, Illinois, within the boundaries of the Synod of Illinois, but when the Synod of Northern Illinois was organized and the prospect of support from a larger constituency appeared, negotiations were made for the removal of the academy to a more suitable location. This was effected in the early spring of 1852, when a shaky institution having fewer than a hundred students, but bearing the optimistic name "Illinois State University," opened its doors at Springfield. Esbjörn's election to the board of trustees of this institution at the first meeting of the Synod of Northern Illinois in 1851 is evidence of interest in the Swedish element of the synod, but a more unsuitable location with reference to the Swedish congregations could hardly have been selected. The population of Springfield was almost exclusively American; and when the university was located there, the city could not boast of a single Lutheran church, let alone a Scandinavian church. The Swedish population was distributed largely in northern and western Illinois, southeastern Iowa, and Minnesota, with a few congregations in Indiana, New York, and Pennsylvania. Not only was the journey from the Swedish settlements to Springfield difficult and expensive, but the students were unable to supply pulpits during the sessions of the university, and they were thus deprived of experience and financial remuneration and the congregations of their services.

Doctrinal dissension, the bane of the American Lutheran church, soon forced the resignation of the first president, Francis Springer, a militant "New Lutheran" who visualized an institution that would "thrust the leaven of American ecclesiasticism and evangelization among the immigrants bearing the Lutheran name." He represented the know-nothing spirit in the Lutheran church at the time when political know-

Tuve Nilsson Hasselquist

nothingism was in the ascendancy. After his resignation in 1855 he continued to serve as a pastor in the Synod of Northern Illinois, assuming the rôle of a crusader against the steadily advancing forces of symbolism, among whom the Swedes constituted the largest army. Springer and Esbjörn were the leaders of the opposing parties, with the former fighting a losing battle that threatened to become a rout by the end of the decade.

The election of William M. Reynolds to the presidency of Illinois State University in 1857 was a victory for the conservatives and a recognition of the powerful position the Scandinavians had attained. Through his voluminous contributions to the Lutheran press he had come to be recognized as one of the leaders of the conservatives in the General Synod. He was far more popular with the symbolical party in the Synod of Northern Illinois than he was with the liberals; but so tense had the situation become that his words and actions were subject to the misinterpretations common in such situations. Reynolds had his shortcomings as an executive and diplomatist, upon which it is unnecessary to dwell here, but it is doubtful whether any helmsman could have steered the frail craft at Springfield safely through the hurricane of theological controversy, nationalistic prejudice, and financial depression that followed the panic of 1857.

The particularistic tendencies of the Swedes were manifest in the organization of their congregations into the Mississippi Conference at Moline, in January, 1853, a step that had been sanctioned at the second convention of the Synod of Northern Illinois. The Norwegians had previously organized the Chicago Conference. These bodies within the synod held separate as well as joint meetings to promote the welfare of their congregations.[6] With the appearance of the first number of *Hemlandet* at Galesburg in January, 1855, under the editorship of Hasselquist, the Swedes had their own organ to mold public opinion. Under the guidance of Hasselquist until the close of 1858, the paper pursued a conciliatory policy toward the American element in the synod; but with the succession of

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[6] The minutes of the Mississippi Conference, 1853–1860, are printed in *Tidskrift*, 1899, pp. 1–14, 58–130.

Norelius, who never felt at home with the liberals, a different note was struck, although he was restrained from undue harshness by Hasselquist and Carlsson,[7] who were well aware of Esbjörn's influence over him.

At a joint meeting of the Scandinavian conferences in October, 1855, just previous to the annual convention of the synod, a resolution was adopted to bring before the synod the advisability of sending a man to Scandinavia to enlist recruits for the ministry and to awaken interest in Illinois State University. This "feeler" was referred to a committee with instructions to bring in a resolution with reference to the establishment of a Scandinavian professorship at the university. The committee recommended and the synod approved the establishment of the professorship, and Esbjörn was appointed agent to solicit funds for an endowment. This action was the beginning of the end of harmony in the synod. On second thought the "Americans" evidently sensed the significance of the decision, for during the winter a number of ministers united in requesting the president of the synod to call a special meeting to define more precisely the terms and conditions of the new post. It was feared that if the professorship were committed to an orthodox position, the General Synod would look unfavorably on applications for financial aid from the western congregations.

At the special meeting in May, 1856, the Scandinavians won a sweeping victory when it was decided that the professorship should be theological and that the appointee to the chair should pledge himself to teach according to the Augsburg Confession. By a clumsy arrangement the professor was to be recommended by the Scandinavian conferences, nominated by the synod, and elected by the board of trustees of the university. The money collected by the agent was to be turned over to the treasurer of the university, with the stipulation that the principal was never to be used. That the professorship was not designed to be a sinecure is revealed in the stipulation that, in addition to instructing in theology and the Scandinavian studies, assistance in other branches might be required. According to the terms drawn up by a committee of the synod, the professor's salary was to be paid by annual contributions of twenty-five dollars from each Scandinavian congregation and collections taken in Sweden and Norway, provided the king granted the petition asking him to permit money to be raised thus. The contributions were to be paid directly to the professor; in the event that the total sum did not equal the amount of the stipulated salary, the treasurer of the university was authorized to make up the deficiency from interest on the endowment.

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[7] Esbjörn to Norelius, April 2, 1859, in *Tidskrift*, 1899, pp. 305–306. Norelius resigned as editor in the fall of 1859.

If the synod had deliberately set itself to the purpose of creating a monster of dissension, it could hardly have devised a better one. Not only did it make the professor partially independent of the president and board of trustees, but it made his livelihood so uncertain that the wonder is that a man could be found to accept the appointment. The panic of 1857 wrecked whatever prospects there were for substantial contributions from the congregations, and the king of Sweden and Norway denied the petition for collections in his realms. The principal of the endowment rose to the grand sum of $1,382.40.

The cumbersome machinery of electing the Scandinavian professor was set in motion, and with the opening of the academic year in the autumn of 1858 Lars Paul Esbjörn found himself in Springfield with a family of six to support, some twenty poverty-stricken Scandinavian students for whom he felt himself responsible, and a teaching load that included instruction in theology, Scandinavian, chemistry, and astronomy. No wonder that at the beginning of the next academic year he was considering plans for setting up an independent Scandinavian educational institution in Chicago.

Leaving Esbjörn at Springfield "in Babylonian captivity," as he expressed it, we shall direct our attention to a set of circumstances that split the Synod of Illinois wide open — so wide, in fact, that Esbjörn walked out. When the Synod of Northern Illinois assembled in regular convention in May, 1856, the storm that had broken at the special meeting had not abated. In an effort to calm the waters verbal camouflage was resorted to. A resolution was unanimously adopted acknowledging that, in view of the fact that there was not entire agreement on all minor points of doctrine, the yielding of one party to the other was not to be construed as pledging it to the doctrinal views of the other. This resolution can be understood only in the light of the change made in the constitution of the synod in 1854, by which the words "mainly correct" as applied to the Augsburg Confession were struck out in favor of "correct"; thus were fulfilled the anticipations of Esbjörn, who had joined the synod thinking that the symbolical element would eventually kill the "loose" spirit.

The victory of the Scandinavians in the matter of the professorship was another bitter pill for Springer's men to take; and with the addition of eight extreme "new measure" men to the ministerium in 1857 and 1858, the uneasy Springer decided that the time had come to deal a blow at the dictatorial Scandinavians and stem the tide of confessional Lutheranism. The opening shot in the battle was fired by Springer in an article in the *Evangelical Review* for July, 1859, in which he delivered himself of the heretical statement that the Augsburg Confession was not the final word on Christian truth and that the time had come either to make a new standard or to qualify the old. This article was like a red flag in the eyes of the Scandinavians, who would not alter by one jot or tittle the historic confession or admit that Christian truth is progressive. What was the truth in Luther's generation was the truth in theirs and would be the truth in all time to come.

At the Chicago meeting of the synod in September, 1859, the preponderance of Scandinavians and their allies on the floor resulted in the rejection of a motion to restore the constitution to its former latitudinarian basis; the Springerites now petitioned for honorable dismission in order to form an "elective affinity" synod of their own, leaving the Scandinavians free to go their own symbolical way. The issue was thus forced by the "new measure" faction. In a desperate effort to save Illinois State University, already tottering to its fall, Simeon W. Harkey, professor of theology and a conservative, stepped into the breach; instead of granting the petition the synod devised and adopted a "preamble" to the constitution consisting of a restatement of Springer's article in concise language, which was designed to soothe his partisans; the constitution itself was permitted to remain intact as balm for the Scandinavians.

The "preamble," which was to come before the next regular meeting of the synod for final adoption, proved to be an apple of discord rather than an olive branch. Esbjörn at Springfield added to his already voluminous correspondence by writing letters to Swedish pastors exposing the designs of the Springerites and urging the necessity of an independent Scandinavian synod or, if not that, a district synod in the Joint Synod of Ohio. To his intimate friend Norelius he confided his scheme, which was nothing more nor less than that the Scandinavian Conference should enact an ordinance of secession and then inform the Synod of Northern Illinois of the action. He would not stop at such halfway measures as his archenemy Springer; he would resort to revolution. Springer likewise through correspondence continued to agitate the formation of an independent synod.

Harkey, a friend of the Scandinavians, got wind of Springer's plans and was instrumental in calling a special meeting of the united Rock River and Mendota conferences in December, 1859, at which he was prepared to unmask the leader of the schism. So bold and adroit was the theological professor that the conference resolved that it was satisfied with the doctrinal basis of the synod, provided the "preamble" were adopted at the next meeting, and that it was opposed to the organization of a new synod. But the schism had passed beyond the resolution stage. The "new measure" men knew they were in a hopeless minority, and no combination of words could ever reconcile them to the Scandinavians, who sat securely in the saddle and dictated the policy of the synod and who would sooner or later foist the whole symbolical system upon the Illinois State University. What made the pill so extremely bitter was the fact that the "sectarian jealousies" were imported into the synod by "high church" Lutherans who had come in after the synod and the university had been founded. In other words, the conservatives had captured the synod.

These events were eagerly seized upon by leaders in Lutheran synods that held aloof from the General Synod because it did not bind its members to an unqualified reception of the Augsburg Confession. Through their synodical organs they harped constantly on the fact that the Norwegians and Swedes in the Synod of Northern Illinois had been deceived into becoming members of a reformed church and that so long as they remained there they were playing fast and loose with heresy. The synods that took this position were the so-called Missouri Synod, exclusively German; the Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Church of America, usually known as the "Norwegian Synod," whose interpretation of the fourteenth article of the Augsburg Confession was identical with that of the Church of Sweden; and the Joint Synod of Ohio, toward which Esbjörn and Norelius had cast many longing glances. Even the mildest form of unionism was anathema to the men in these branches of the Lutheran church. The fact of the matter is that Hasselquist, Carlsson, Swensson, and Andrén were just as reverent in their attitude toward the Augsburg Confession as any Lutheran in any synod, but as *läsare* they had far more in common with "New Lutherans," whose ideas about Sabbath observance, temperance laws, lay preaching, and so forth, were identical with theirs. Moreover, the General Synod had only advisory power in matters pertaining to the confession of faith and the liturgy, and thus the Scandinavians were permitted to be as orthodox as they pleased. Nevertheless, the constant jibes from independent synods were irritating to the Swedes, and the "preamble" made them more stinging than ever.

The expansion of the Swedish settlements was a factor that had to be reckoned with in determining the policy of the synod and conference. The settlements east of the Mississippi River, although extending over a wide area, were compact enough to insure reasonably regular attendance of pastors and laymen at conference and synodical meetings; but with the organization of congregations in Minnesota Territory the pastors in that field felt slighted. The early Swedish settlements in Minnesota were located mainly in three valleys: those of the Cannon River, the St. Croix River, and the Minnesota River. The ablest and most energetic Swedish Lutheran pastor was Erik Norelius, who labored in the territory continuously from the spring of 1856, when he moved from Indiana to Vasa, near Red Wing, to the end of 1858, when he went to Chicago to become editor of *Hemlandet.* From the beginning Norelius was conscious of the vast distance separating him from his countrymen in the older settlements, and he immediately began to lay plans for the prosecution of his work in a way peculiarly adapted to Minnesota conditions. He talked of establishing an institution for training men for the ministry, and in November, 1857, he began the publication of *Minnesota Posten,* in spite of the opposition of Hasselquist, who feared it would blight the prospects of *Hemlandet.* The journalistic venture proved premature and within a year the paper merged with the older publication.

Norelius, as we have seen, was never happy in the Synod of Northern Illinois, and when it was proposed by Passavant that a Minnesota synod be organized as a district of the General Synod, Norelius was not entirely unresponsive, although he would have much preferred an independent synod embracing all the Swedish congregations. Hasselquist and Carlsson were unqualifiedly opposed both to a Minnesota synod and to an independent body, the former because he did not believe the Swedes could stand on their own feet and the latter because he did not think action should be taken at a time when conditions in the Synod of Northern Illinois were so chaotic. Esbjörn probably harbored the secret hope that one or the other eventuality might come to pass, because he was growing more bitter every year against the "Americans."

When the meeting called to organize the Minnesota Synod was held at Red Wing in July, 1858, the Swedes held aloof, awaiting instructions from the Scandinavian Conference, which was to meet the following September. This body positively forbade the Swedes to join the new synod, but it gave them permission to organize the Minnesota Conference within the Synod of Northern Illinois, a project that was acted upon at Chisago Lake early in October, 1858.[8] The threat of secession from Minnesota was not only a symptom of the nationalistic spirit of the Swedes and of dissatisfaction with the Synod of Northern Illinois, but it was a warning to the Swedish leaders east of the Mississippi that in time an independent Swedish synod might be organized in Minnesota unless they fought ceaselessly for their rights. Although Norelius asserts that it was simply the sentiment of nationality — the feeling that the Swedes must stand united — that restrained them from joining the Minnesota Synod, a contributory cause was probably antipathy toward the loose, anti-symbolical element, which might occasion as much bickering and as much backbiting as the Illinois synod had witnessed.

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[8] The minutes of the Minnesota Conference, 1858–1868, are printed in *Tidskrift,* 1899, pp. 131–233. The manuscript is in the Norelius collection at Rock Island.

It is impossible to read the letters written by Esbjörn after the opening of his second academic year at Illinois State University without reaching the conclusion that he was ready to grasp at anything that would precipitate the secession of the Swedes from the Synod of Northern Illinois. In October, 1859, he wrote that even a few weeks' stay in Springfield made him desirous of getting away. Replying to Norelius' invitation to spend the Christmas season in his home at Attica, Indiana, Esbjörn wrote that he and his wife were anxious to get out of " this cage " to enjoy a little freedom among friends and countrymen, because nobody can understand how " unhappy we are here." " I am making this trip to get away from the Springfieldites for a few days," he wrote. To Hasselquist he wrote, on February 7, 1860, " It will not do to have our ministerial candidates at a mixed institution, with American young men of all sorts, *doctrine or no doctrine*." [9] He was constantly urging upon the Scandinavian brethren the necessity of moving the Scandinavian professorship to Chicago, which meant secession from the university. During his visit with his intimate friend Norelius at the close of 1859 the plan of instruction for a Scandinavian seminary was discussed, and after his return to Springfield he wrote Norelius requesting him to sound out leaders in the Joint Synod of Ohio as to the prospects of making a Scandinavian synod a district of that body. By the end of January, 1860, he had already formulated the reasons for the secession from the Synod of Northern Illinois, which were to be made public when secession was an accomplished fact. He was probably preparing to bring matters to a head at the meeting of the Scandinavian Conference at Chicago in April.

With the tide of sentiment running in his favor, the wonder is that Esbjörn should have seized upon such a flimsy pretext for his purpose, but he probably feared that Hasselquist was strong enough to prevent separation, or at least to postpone it. Hasselquist had written to warn him against hasty action, stating that it was a serious matter.

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[9] The italics are the author's.

We have had occasion to point out that the awkward terms upon which the Scandinavian professorship was founded were almost certain to produce friction between the professor and the administrative officials at the university. Esbjörn contended that the duties of the professorship included the exclusive right to give religious advice to and exercise religious care and supervision over the Scandinavian students. There being no Scandinavian Lutheran church in Springfield, Esbjörn and the Scandinavian students were naturally expected to attend services in the English Lutheran church, of which Reynolds was pastor. The Scandinavians, however, were not satisfied as to the orthodoxy of the constitution of the congregation and of Reynolds' sermons and held their own services Sunday afternoons.

At one of these meetings, when the Lord's Supper was celebrated, Esbjörn took occasion to warn the students against false doctrine, alleging that his colleagues on the faculty rejected the Lutheran doctrine of the " real presence " of the body and blood of Christ in the elements. Apprised of this, President Reynolds went to Esbjörn's home in high dudgeon, and a heated conversation ensued. Esbjörn admitted that he had criticized the teaching of his colleagues, whereupon he was admonished that such charges had better be preferred elsewhere than in the presence of students. The president then threatened to " show him up " and make him regret his words; Esbjörn inferred from this that charges would be made against him before the synod and that he would be disciplined by the faculty. Acting on the spur of the moment, the Scandinavian professor wrote his resignation that very day and presented it to the board of trustees the next, March 31, 1860. He also summoned the Scandinavian students to his home, informed them of his resignation, distributed the money he had received on their behalf, and advised them to withdraw from the university forthwith. Only a most extraordinary set of conditions can justify the resignation of a member of the faculty in any institution in the middle of a semester, without a word of warning. Moreover, according to the constitution of the university adopted by the synod, Esbjörn was required to give six months' notice before laying down his duties. The professor's lame defense was that, whereas he was elected to the professorship on October 1, 1857, this provision was adopted on September 17, 1858, and was thus *ex post facto* legislation; that he could not know six months in advance how he would be treated; and that he had never taken an oath of allegiance to the university constitution, but only to the Augsburg Confession.

Esbjörn's defense, as published in several papers, is not impressive. The key to his action is found in a letter to Norelius, dated May 18, 1860, in which he stated that his sudden resignation had made separation possible and that if affairs had been allowed to take their even, slow Swedish course, there would have been nothing but talk. His best "talking point," of course, was that revolutionary action was justified in order to save "pure doctrine" — and it was on this ground that the Scandinavian Conference vindicated him — but never was the symbolical cause in the Synod of Northern Illinois and in the General Synod in less danger from "New Lutheranism," as the uninterrupted string of victories in the former body and the overwhelming rejection of Schmucker's "Definite Synodical Platform" bear witness.[10]

A letter written in the latter part of April, 1859, by a Swedish pastor in the Synod of Northern Illinois to *Wäktaren,* is illuminating. He said that at the last meeting of the synod President Theummel, who in the beginning was opposed to the Scandinavian professorship, appointed on the committee to consider proposed constitutional amendments a mild "New Lutheran," an ally of the "Old Lutherans," and Hasselquist.

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[10] In a vain attempt to stem the tide of confessional Lutheranism an anonymous pamphlet of forty-two pages appeared in September, 1855, the authorship of which was afterwards acknowledged by S. S. Schmucker. This was the famous "Definite Synodical Platform," which claimed to find several errors in the Augsburg Confession and was designed to furnish a doctrinal basis for Lutheran synods in the form of an "American Recension of the Augsburg Confession." It also listed several alleged errors of the symbolical books and rejected them as a prescribed creed. The district synods rejected the Platform almost unanimously — an indication of the ascendancy of conservative Lutheranism. Stephenson, *The Founding of the Augustana Synod,* 27–32. See Ferm, *The Crisis in American Lutheran Theology,* for a detailed treatment.

As delegates to the General Synod not a single pronounced "New Lutheran" was elected. The writer and Reynolds occupied the same quarters during the convention and the latter convinced him that "New Lutheranism" was on the wane, citing painful examples of its early "vagabondism and latitudinarianism" from his own experiences. The writer closed by saying that all indications pointed to victory for the "Old Lutherans" in the General Synod.[11] It is true that this letter was written about five months before the heated debate over the "preamble" took place, but it flatly contradicts Esbjörn's statement that Reynolds was developing more and more into a "New Lutheran." [12] Moreover, Esbjörn, who affiliated with the Synod of Northern Illinois as an opportunist, ought to have understood that as president of Illinois State University, Reynolds could not afford to engage in controversy with either faction. He bided his time, just as Esbjörn had, in the hope of eventual victory for confessionalism.[13]

Esbjörn's resignation was followed shortly by the exodus from Springfield of the Scandinavian professor and his students. Esbjörn took up his abode in Chicago and set himself to the task of preparing a defense of his action to be presented to the Scandinavian Conference, which was scheduled to meet on April 23, 1860. He had placed the delegates in a position where it is difficult to see how they had any choice — short of disrupting the conference — but to sustain him. Hasselquist, who usually had the moral stamina to sponsor and defend an unpopular cause, saw the inevitability of separation and swung into line, although he had many regrets that a united Lutheran church should be relegated to the limbo of an uncertain future. Reynolds and Harkey were given a hearing before the conference, but the die was cast. Ignoring the ethics of Esbjörn's resignation, the conference chose to regard it not as an isolated act but as an incident in a series of difficulties. It voted unanimously to withdraw from the Synod of Northern Illinois and to hold a convention of delegates from Scandinavian congregations to organize a separate synod.

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[11] August 11, 1859.

[12] Letter to Norelius, March 19, 1860, in *Tidskrift,* 1899, pp. 315–316.

[13] Norelius does not agree with Esbjörn that separation would not have come if it had not been for his resignation. He is of the opinion that the Scandinavians were ready for separation, but admits that the action would not have come so soon nor would it have been so unanimous. He admits that Reynolds was the chief cause of Esbjörn's resignation. He infers that the fact that Reynolds later left the Lutheran church in favor of the Episcopal proves that he never was a good Lutheran. In the opinion of the present writer, it proves rather that Reynolds despaired of the future of a united Lutheran church and that he preferred the conservative and liturgical Episcopal church to the Calvinistic body. Norelius, *Historia,* 1:813–814.

The unanimity in favor of separation was carried over into the convention held in the Norwegian Lutheran church at Jefferson Prairie, Rock County, Wisconsin, from June 5 to 11, 1860. At the very first session it was voted to organize the Scandinavian Evangelical Lutheran Augustana Synod in North America.[14] Hasselquist was elected president. The constitution was patterned after that of the Synod of Northern Illinois, but it adopted as the rule of faith not only the three oldest creeds — the Apostolic, Nicene, and Athanasian — but also the unaltered Augsburg Confession as a short and correct summary of the essentials of Christian doctrine developed and explained in the other symbolical books. The name itself, "Augustana," was a guarantee of the ingrained symbolism of the organization. In order to safeguard their claim to the principal of the endowment fund, the delegates resolved that when Esbjörn had ceased his work as professor at Springfield the Scandinavian professorship had not been suspended, but only transferred; he was therefore declared to be professor of Scandinavian and theology at Augustana Seminary in Chicago. The long-drawn-out controversy with the Synod of Northern Illinois inaugurated by this resolution is an episode that need not concern us here. The Swedes were thus committed to the establishment and support of their own educational institution.

Perhaps it is not the historian's task to divine the motives of individuals or groups of individuals; but even if it were, it would be a baffling problem to weigh the relative rôles of doctrine and nationality as impelling motives in the secession of the Scandinavians from the Synod of Northern Illinois and in the founding of the Augustana Synod. Whether creed forms character or character creed is a problem for the philosopher to solve. Certain it is, however, that the character and temperament of a single man counted unusually heavily in destroying the grand scheme of a polyglot Lutheran synod and a " melting pot " institution of learning. And yet, be it said, the Swedes were far less nationalistic in their outlook than other immigrant stocks. The great mass of Swedish emigrants left their country at a time when nationalism was at its lowest ebb. This fact serves to explain not only the lukewarm attitude of the immigrants and their descendants toward Sweden but also the sheer indifference of the Church of Sweden to her wayward children; and it must be considered also in accounting for the trend toward cooperation with the American branch of the Lutheran church, a trend almost wholly lacking in the other foreign-language Lutheran synods until recent years, when the imported language was about to surrender to the speech of the land. Besides doctrine and nationality there were, of course, other factors in the secession, such as personal differences, geographical distribution, and so forth.

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[14] The minutes of the Augustana Synod, 1860–1878, are reprinted in a single volume under the title *Augustana-synodens protokoll, 1860–1878,* Rock Island, 1917.

With the withdrawal in 1870 of the Norwegians, who from the beginning had constituted a minority in the Augustana Synod, the Swedes were left to work out their own problems. It is significant, however, that the Swedes lamented the nationalistic spirit that impelled the Norwegian brethren to sever the bonds that had united them for two decades. The very year the Norwegians withdrew, the Swedish Augustana Synod became a member of the General Council, a body loyal to the symbolical books and bearing almost no visible trace of the " New Lutheranism " that had made the old General Synod so odious to Esbjörn and Norelius and their followers.

CHAPTER XIV

EARLY PROSELYTING AMONG THE SWEDES

WE HAVE seen that from the very beginning the Swedish Lutheran pastors had to contend with zealous proselyters from other churches, a circumstance that reflected itself in the character and organization of the Swedish Lutheran church. The American churches regarded the Swedish immigrants as semi-Catholics and therefore felt that they could proselyte with good conscience. Although many immigrants had an antipathy to Lutheranism, which they associated with a persecuting and moribund church, and many others were only nominal Lutherans, still pastors bearing the name "Lutheran" had an advantage over competitors in appealing to those to whom religion was a vital matter. Discounting the pessimistic reports of missionaries who reaped harvests incommensurate with the sacrifice entailed in making long journeys and tiresome visits to widely scattered countrymen absorbed in a ceaseless struggle with an inexorable environment, the fact remains that the "church people" were more loyal to Lutheranism in America than in Sweden. Of course, the Lutheran pastors found many countrymen who would hear nothing of religion and who exhibited the Swedish trait of spurning everything suggestive of Sweden.[1] As traveling agent in behalf of the endowment for the Scandinavian professorship, Esbjörn found that his countrymen who had gone into other churches refused to make contributions, despite his assurance that students of all creeds were enrolled and welcomed at Illinois State University.[2] The cleavage already visible in Sweden when the stream of emigration began showed itself in marked fashion in the first decade of Swedish-America. One element favored doing away with everything reminiscent of Sweden; the stiff Lutherans wanted everything precisely as it was in the old country; and others desired services copied exactly after the American pattern.[3]

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[1] F. O. Nilsson to Wiberg, November 10, 1858. Esbjörn, Hasselquist, and Carlsson wrote that many Swedes had given up religion entirely.

[2] Esbjörn, in *Hemlandet,* August 15, 1856; Esbjörn to A. P. Cassel, in *Swenske Republikanen,* October 24, December 27, 1856; C. T. Henschen, in *Swenske Republikanen,* March 13, 1857. In the latter paper for January 23, 1857, Cassel inquires of Esbjörn if the Scandinavian professor is to be a "New Lutheran" or an orthodox Lutheran.

The political sagacity of the devil is seen at its best, or worst, in controversies between religious organizations; and if he can enlist the talents of the journalistic profession, he can well afford to take a vacation. Not to be deprived of a generous portion of the spoils of this kind of warfare, the politicians sometimes enter the fray. Such warfare occurred among the Swedes in America at a very early date and continued for years, Chicago being the storm center.

The Lutherans, being stronger numerically, were the first to have a newspaper organ. In January, 1855, the first number of *Hemlandet* was published at Galesburg, and Hasselquist appeared in the dual rôle of editor and pastor of the local congregation. With the removal of the publication office to Chicago in December, 1858, the paper was taken over by the Swedish Lutheran Publication Society, an organization owned and controlled by the Mississippi Conference of the Synod of Northern Illinois. Throughout its long existence the journal, which was in part religious and in part secular, was strait-laced in morals and doctrine, and it was hated by enemies as cordially as it was admired by friends. Warnings were frequently sounded through its columns against proselyters from other denominations.

About a year and a half after the launching of *Hemlandet* the disciples of the murdered Bishop Hill prophet, not to be outdone by the Lutherans, also embarked on a journalistic adventure, which took the name *Den Swenske Republikanen i Norra Amerika.* It was started as an enterprise of the leaders of the Bishop Hill colony, but was shortly purchased by Svante Ulrik Cronsioe, who directed its editorial policies throughout its existence, from July 4, 1856, to July, 1858. Cronsioe, who was a religious free lance, opened his columns freely to Episcopalians, Methodists, Baptists, agnostics, and anyone with a grievance against the Lutheran church. He was no match for the editor of *Hemlandet* — his addiction to strong drink ruined whatever chances he may have had for a successful journalistic career — but he published a number of telling articles from the pen of the Episcopalian Unonius, for whom he seems to have had a special predilection.

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[3] *Hemlandet,* May 31, 1856.

With the demise of Cronsioe's paper the opponents of Lutheranism were silenced, so far as the Swedish press was concerned, until the appearance of *Frihetswännen* at Galesburg on January 1, 1859. Lack of subscribers caused its discontinuance on March 8, 1861. The publishers and editors, who were Baptists, broke many a lance with the editors of *Hemlandet.* They combed the papers from Sweden for news of religious persecution in the Old Country and left nothing unsaid that would identify the Augustana Synod with the despotic Church of Sweden. After the death of *Frihetswännen* no new Swedish-American journals were established until the Methodists came forth with *Sändebudet.* Publication was begun at Rockford, on July 18, 1862, but was transferred to Chicago in December, 1864.

Glass houses were damaged in the earlier years of Swedish-American journalism, but the first missiles were almost harmless as compared with those that flew after *Svenska Amerikanaren* entered the fray at Chicago on September 8, 1866. Emblazoned on the title page of the newcomer was the slogan "Freedom, Justice, and Truth," but in dealing with *Hemlandet* justice and truth sometimes yielded to freedom of expression. According to its editorial announcement, it was not a church paper but neither was it hostile to religion. Judging from the communications to the editor, however, its appearance was cordially welcomed by the anti-religious element, particularly the anti-Lutheran, who read with much satisfaction paragraphs reprinted from such radical papers in Sweden as *Aftonbladet* and *Fäderneslandet.*[4] In succeeding years *Svenska Amerikanaren* found many allies in the warfare against the Augustana Synod. While *Hemlandet* was always a welcome visitor in Swedish Lutheran parsonages, *Svenska Amerikanaren* was sometimes denounced from pulpits as the mouthpiece of the prince of darkness. In January, 1856, Hasselquist established *Det Rätta Hemlandet,* but its sphere was almost exclusively devotional and it did not descend to the methods employed by the more secular sheets.

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[4] Anders Gustaf Öbom published *Skandinaven* at New York from 1851 to 1852 and *Skandinavisk Post* from 1863 to 1875, but he was remote from the theater of Swedish-American activity. Öbom had a checkered career in Europe and America. He was a sworn enemy of ministers, but Esbjörn contributed to his first paper, probably because it was the only Swedish paper in the country; however, this did

It is a curious fact that the allies against the Augustana Synod were usually in agreement on two things: that the Swedish Lutheran church was bad and that the Republican party was good. The church papers condemned the Augustana Synod because it was said to be a replica of the Church of Sweden, admitting to membership "worldly" men and women, and the "liberal," non-sectarian papers condemned it because the pastors preached on the iniquities of the theater, dance hall, card table, and saloon. Isidor Kjellberg, whose vitriolic pen burned the pages of several papers in the United States and Sweden, found almost everything in America praiseworthy except the Augustana Synod and emigration agents. He cordially hated the Church of Sweden, but, in addition, his attitude toward Augustana pastors was probably colored by the fact that, unlike certain parish pastors in his native country who were cultured men of the world, the Swedish Lutheran pastors in America started life as farmers or day laborers and, after sojourning for a brief time in a Swedish-American educational institution, were ordained into the ministry. Kjellberg could not reconcile himself to the *läsare* pastors, who preached sermons heavily charged with the "law," threw away their manuscripts, and stormed and exhorted in orthodox American revivalist fashion. He forgot that the same leveling process of the American frontier that obliterated class distinctions and produced the self-made man in politics and business also produced the uncultured, narrow, intolerant, and plain-spoken man in the pulpit.

Kjellberg was soft-spoken in dealing with Methodist and

not prevent Öbom from expressing his opinion of Lutheranism and its newly arrived exponent. Esbjörn, in the *Missionary,* April, 1852. See also Berger, *Svenska tidningar i New York, N. Y.* For details concerning the Chicago situation, see George M. Stephenson, "The Stormy Years of the Swedish Colony in Chicago before the Great Fire," *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society,* Publication no. 36.

Baptist preachers, whose pietism and fundamentalism were perhaps even more pronounced, but he probably feared their influence less because they were fewer in number and were not affiliated with an organization so effective as the Augustana Synod. Moreover, they were more tolerant of other churches and less exclusive than the Lutherans. Kjellberg maintained that the " hell and brimstone " preachers left Augustana Seminary more narrow and intolerant than when they entered and had scarcely a trace of culture. In his opinion the Swedish Lutheran church was more harmful than salutary; it followed a policy of keeping the Swedes ignorant of the English language and of things typically American by maintaining its own schools and using Swedish textbooks — particularly the old Swedish Catechism — in the heart of the United States. He advised the immigrants to join purely American congregations in order to become thoroughly assimilated. Kjellberg represented the cultured and more or less radical type of immigrant, whose cravings for companionship and loyalty to Swedish customs were satisfied by association with a small group of like-minded individuals who felt toward Swedish-America, more particularly the Augustana Synod, only indifference or contempt.[5]

It is a tribute to the prestige of the name " Lutheran " that in the early years of Swedish immigration the ministers of other churches sought to emphasize the points their doctrine had in common with Lutheranism. The Protestant Episcopal church, however, has the distinction of being the only ecclesiastical organization to emphasize its similarity with the established church of Sweden — proof of the utter inability of its leaders to understand the nonconformist slant of the immigrants. The meager results of its missionary work are chiefly due to this fundamental misunderstanding of the psychology of the immigrants and of the circumstances surrounding the inception of the work of the first Swedish Episcopal missionary, Gustaf Unonius.

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[5] Kjellberg's career in the United States was brief. He arrived in the fall of 1869, and after editing *Minnesota Tidning* and *Svenska Monitören* in St. Paul and *Justitia* in Chicago returned to Sweden in the spring of 1872. The Chicago paper was destroyed in the great fire of October, 1871. See George M. Stephenson, " Isidor Kjellberg: Crusader," *Swedish-American Historical Bulletin,* August, 1929, pp. 31–51.

Unonius emigrated to the United States in 1841 at the head of a small company of so-called " better folk " and settled at Pine Lake, Wisconsin. During the first year of his life as a pioneer farmer J. Lloyd Breck, the Episcopal missionary in Wisconsin, spent a night in his cabin and left upon him an impression of zeal and sacrificial devotion that was ever a lamp unto his feet. Breck left some devotional literature, including the *Book of Common Prayer,* and urged upon the pioneer the necessity of affiliating with a church, at the same time stressing the doctrinal similarity between the Episcopal church and the Church of Sweden as well as the claim that both retained the apostolic succession. Recognizing the superior education of Unonius, Breck, who made frequent visits to the Pine Lake community to conduct services for the Swedes and Norwegians, engaged him to act as interpreter when the sacraments were administered and encouraged him to conduct services on Sundays. When urged by the Norwegians and Swedes to seek ordination and to become their pastor, Unonius weighed the matter and decided to enter the Episcopal seminary at Nashotah. " I thought it more than doubtful that ministers from Sweden would ever come; if I could have foreseen that eventuality, it is entirely possible that my decision would have been different," he wrote. He was ordained in 1845.

Unonius' choice of the Episcopal church in preference to the Lutheran is so bound up with controversy that it becomes necessary to analyze his reasons. At the time the Swedish immigrants were few in number, and until 1849 there was not a single Swedish Lutheran minister in the country, if we except the incompetent Böckman, whose sojourn was brief. The Lutheran church was divided into several mutually hostile synods, each departing more or less from the Augsburg Confession or at least at variance in their interpretation of it. With church erected against church, and pastor disputing against pastor, Unonius experienced the same confusion that confounded Esbjörn. He learned that the General Synod had a strong strain of Calvinism, and he could hardly consider going into the strongly nationalistic German synods. The " churchly " element among the Norwegians had not yet effected the organization of the so-called Norwegian Synod. From the Church of Sweden he could expect no cooperation. In order to soothe his conscience, however, he wrote to Carl Fredrik af Wingård, archbishop of Sweden, stating his problem and asking for a definite statement with reference to the points of variance between his church and the Episcopal. The reply of the conservative Wingård, however, was disapproving, and Unonius was compelled to make his own decision. For a time after he had taken holy orders he served Scandinavian settlements and American congregations; in 1849 he organized a handful of Swedes and Norwegians in Chicago into the St. Ansgarius congregation in the Diocese of Illinois of the Protestant Episcopal church. The constitution adopted subscribed to the " apostolic faith and communion, under episcopal jurisdiction, as it is sanctioned and preserved in our native land."

While carrying on the arduous duties of the pastorate in Chicago, where he rendered services to his countrymen similar to those performed by Erland Carlsson later, he visited several Swedish settlements and urged the necessity of having ministers ordained by bishops; but the Swedish population was in such a state of flux and so harassed by poverty that he could accomplish little outside of administering the sacraments. He was just getting his work under way when Esbjörn appeared on the scene, followed shortly by Hasselquist and Carlsson. These men attacked him as an impostor disguised as a Lutheran pastor. Unonius countered with the charge that his adversaries were not Lutherans and insisted that his church was more like the Church of Sweden than was the Synod of Northern Illinois; until 1854 the synod was not committed to the unaltered Augsburg Confession and its pastors were engaged in increasingly bitter doctrinal controversy over the Scandinavian professorship. Unonius knew nothing of the *läsare* spirit that Esbjörn, Hasselquist, and Carlsson had imbibed, because he had not come under its influence, although he had taken some part in the temperance agitation. Unonius was correct in maintaining that his church was more like the Church of Sweden in spirit and practice than the Swedish Lutheran church in America, although it is unhistorical to say that the Church of Sweden had retained the doctrine of the apostolic succession. His adversaries advertised the fact that the Swedish Lutheran church in America breathed a spirit foreign to the old church, as Esbjörn's pamphlet "Words of Welcome to the Swedish, Norwegian, and Danish Emigrant" bears witness. As editor of *Hemlandet,* Hasselquist wrote caustic editorials about the state church and devoted much space to a sympathetic presentation of the agitation for religious freedom in the Old Country and to criticism of the authorities for their indifference to the crying need for pastors in America. In the public controversy carried on in the columns of *Den Swenske Republikanen* Unonius attacked the vulnerable joint in the armor of Esbjörn and Hasselquist when he maintained that they had compromised Lutheranism by accepting aid from the American Home Missionary Society, a contention upheld by Norelius when he wrote as a historian a generation later. This rejoinder was prompted by the assertion of Hasselquist that the Swedish and Norwegian Lutheran congregations in Chicago were prospering, whereas the Swedish congregations of the Episcopal, Methodist, and Baptist churches were lagging behind, despite aid received from their American brethren in the faith in financing the erection of their churches and supporting their pastors. "What a temptation for our poor countrymen to accept a gift of both church and minister, when as Lutherans the prospect of securing either, even for money, is often dark," wrote Hasselquist. The reply of Unonius had the sting of an adder.

> If it is as yet difficult for [the Swedish and Norwegian Lutherans] to secure ministers, it will not be for long, because it appears to be easy to become a minister in the Swedish and Norwegian congregations here. Men without any considerable qualifications, even without being able to spell and write their own language, desert the last and the needle for the pulpit. Ordination appears to be the easiest of all; it can even be dispensed with in favor of a so-called licensure.

How bitter the controversy was may be seen in the fact that Unonius sued Esbjörn for slander and compelled the latter to retract certain statements derogatory to his character.

We have referred to the state of affairs in the Swedish colony in Chicago. When Unonius returned from a visit to Sweden in 1853, he found that Carlsson had arrived to assume the pastorate of the Immanuel congregation and that his own congregation had decreased in membership. The "liberal" element, however, repelled by the puritanical sermons of Carlsson, showed partiality to the St. Ansgarius congregation. The foes of the Swedish Lutherans enjoyed the fellowship of kindred souls in the Svea Society, organized in 1857, and with the appearance of *Svenska Amerikanaren* this type of Swede found much aid and comfort in its pages, particularly after Herman Roos presided over its destiny. Roos was always ready to give space to any individual or organization prepared to assist him in battering down what he called the "tyranny of the Lutheran preachers." He maintained that the Episcopal church was patterned after the Church of Sweden and that the Augustana Synod departed from it in condemning innocent amusements such as dancing, card-playing, and the theater.

The religious temper of the members of Svea was plainly revealed on the occasion of the visit of the famous Swedish singer, Christina Nilsson, in December, 1870. The Swedish population was thrilled with anticipation. Carlsson conceived the idea of turning the popularity of the prima donna to the benefit of his new church edifice by arranging a festival, the proceeds of which were to accrue to the building fund. In this plan, however, he encountered opposition from his congregation. Although a large percentage of his parishioners were natives of Småland, the province that gave Miss Nilsson's melodious voice to the world, they were opposed to anything that smacked of worldliness, having been influenced by the hyperevangelical revivals that had swept over the province. The members of Svea had no scruples about honoring an opera singer and proceeded to arrange a great reception in her honor. A compromise was finally agreed to and a great "national festival" was staged, but many of the church people would have nothing to do with it. The banquet was an elaborate affair, and it was followed by a grand ball, for which the *läsare* did not remain, although the enemy press included among the names of those present certain individuals who did not attend. The following summer Miss Nilsson returned to Chicago to give two concerts for the benefit of all the Swedish congregations in the city, the Svea Society, and Augustana

College and Theological Seminary, then located at Paxton. This incident was eagerly seized upon by Isidor Kjellberg, who made merry in the columns of his *Justitia* over the alliance of the strait-laced Augustana Synod with an actress and opera singer. Having thus taken the " first step in sin," he asserted, Hasselquist and Carlsson would probably go a step farther and stage plays and balls in their communities.[6]

The departure of Unonius from the scene of seventeen years of labor in the New World to end his days in Sweden did not allay the bitter controversy between the respective parties. Some forty years later he published a supplement to his reminiscences, prompted by the publication of Norelius' history in 1890, in which all the acrimony of former days was revived. In this pamphlet he wrote as follows:

> During the many years of my activity as a minister in Western America I was unfortunate enough to be the object of various kinds of unpleasantness at the hands of pastors in the [Swedish Lutheran Synod]. However, these had long since been buried in oblivion. . . . To my sorrow I find that one of the successors of my former adversary — and many no doubt share his views — is unrelenting and pursues me with abuse and invective, which I am in duty bound to answer.

Although Unonius appears to have been singled out as a special target by the Swedish Lutheran pastors, on the ground that disguised as a Lutheran he was seeking to gather the immigrants into the Episcopal church, in the earlier years Methodism also was sailing under the Lutheran flag, its exponents claiming that it represented the *läsare* in Sweden.[7] O. G. Hedström did not fail to speak a good word for his church to the immigrants at New York, but he did not go to the extremes of his brother Jonas in Illinois in casting aspersions on Lutheranism and its advocates. In some settlements Jonas was welcomed until he launched his invectives against customs and ceremonies sacred to the loyal adherents of Lutheranism and expounded a doctrine of perfectionism closely resembling Eric-Jansonism. When Norelius saw him in 1850 and 1851, he was dressed as a farmer, with a light blue, tattered overcoat, plush cap, and trousers tucked into his boots. He was bitter toward Esbjörn; and when Norelius expounded the Lutheran doctrine of the Lord's Supper, Hedström called him an "upstart."

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[6] The material on the controversy between Unonius and the Augustana Synod is voluminous. See George M. Stephenson, " The Stormy Years of the Swedish Colony in Chicago before the Great Fire," *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society,* Publication no. 36. Unonius defends himself in *Minnen från en sjuttonårig vistelse i Nordvestra Amerika* and in *Bihang till " Minnen från en sjuttonårig vistelse i Nordvestra Amerika,"* Stockholm, 1896.

[7] Jacob Bredberg to Carlsson, February 9, 1854, *Yearbook of the Swedish Historical Society of America,* 1923–1924, pp. 93–95.

In his sermons Hedström stormed and exhorted and sought to appeal to the emotions after the fashion of the frontier revivalist,[8] and he was doubtless often interrupted by laymen and preachers of other denominations, as was the custom in those days — when the man who held the plow handle meditated on the scriptural soundness of this or that abstruse point of doctrine. In these days of doctrinal indifference one can scarcely give credence to the report of a Baptist preacher that in Minnesota a certain Swedish Lutheran jumped the claim of a Baptist because he had been told by a Lutheran minister that it was no sin to treat a Baptist in this fashion.[9] When the Methodists were hauling material for their church at Chisago Lake, Minnesota, the pastor of the Lutheran church is reported to have said in a sermon: "When God builds a church, Satan builds a chapel."[10]

One would expect that with the advantage of having O. G. Hedström stationed at the strategically located Bethel ship in New York and his energetic brother Jonas in the heart of the mission field in the West, as well as the advantage of having established itself first, the Methodist church would have attracted into its fold the lion's share of the Swedes who turned away from Lutheranism, but this is not the fact. From the beginning Esbjörn, Hasselquist, and Carlsson recognized that the Baptist propaganda made the greatest appeal. Like the Methodists, the Swedish Baptists received substantial financial aid from American brethren, but the Baptist church was less institutional than the Methodist and it was fortunate in having such men of outstanding ability as Gustaf Palmquist and Anders Wiberg. With the exception of F. O. Nilsson and Andrew Norelius, the early Baptist preachers did not arouse such bitter enmity from the Lutherans as did the missionaries of the other sects. The Christian excellence of character of Wiberg and Palmquist impressed almost every one who came in contact with them, and they were more moderate in their remarks about Lutheranism. Moreover, they were endowed with ability of a high order, and in education and training were on a par with the Swedish Lutheran leaders. Wiberg was favorably known to Esbjörn in Sweden and on his trip to the West called on the latter at his home in Andover.[11] In Columbus he met Erik Norelius and Reynolds; on this occasion the latter fired a broadside of pedobaptist arguments at him and upbraided him for deserting the Lutheran faith.[12] Several letters that passed between Palmquist and Norelius are still extant.

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[8] Norelius, *Historia,* 1:24–26, 90–92. In the C. M. Esbjörn collection at Rock Island is a letter from a Methodist pastor to L. P. Esbjörn that raises some doubt as to Jonas Hedström's character.

[9] Andrew Norelius to *Frihetswännen,* September 23, 1859. Erik Norelius relates that when he had concluded his sermon at Chisago Lake, Minnesota, in 1854, the Methodist Agrelius arose and launched a sermon. He says that Agrelius did not attract many to his meetings and therefore made use of Norelius' assemblies. "Hågkomster från året 1854," *Korsbaneret,* 1888, 123–125.

[10] Anders Swensson to *Den Swenske Republikanen,* August 28, 1857.

Still it would be erroneous to conclude that the relations between the Lutherans and Baptists even approached harmony. From his field of labor in Rock Island and Moline Palmquist wrote that from Swedish Lutheran pulpits warnings were being sounded that unless members of these congregations ceased to attend meetings addressed by " sectarian " preachers, they would be refused the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. At the meeting of the Mississippi Conference at Moline in January, 1853, the pastors publicly " exposed " Palmquist. The latter wrote that he had entertained the opinion that Hasselquist was a different sort of person, who would not resort to " lies " about his character and career in Sweden. Hasselquist admitted that there was much good in what Palmquist preached, but added that the same could be said about the Eric-Jansonists, who, like the Baptists, were unsound on some points.[13] The Methodists were so zealous in attacking the Baptists that Palmquist was moved to write to O. G. Hedström about his brother's " un-Christian " conduct. F. O. Nilsson, Andrew Norelius, and others fared no better, according to their own testimony. Norelius wrote from Burlington, Iowa, that at some of his appointed meeting places not a soul appeared. In Minnesota Nilsson found that *Hemlandet* was read and applauded by the Swedes in St. Paul, Marine, and Chisago Lake, and he feared that it would do more than anything else to injure his cause. That the Baptists were not sparing in the use of invective is evident from a letter written by Nilsson at St. Paul on June 7, 1855, announcing the arrival of Cederstam. He reported that there was great joy among the Lutherans and that drunkards, swearers, Sabbath-breakers, liars, adulterers, and the self-righteous were flocking to him.[14]

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[11] Wiberg Diary, May 25, 1853. See Carlsson's letter in *Nya Wexjö-Bladet*, April 13, 1855.

[12] Wiberg Diary, July 1–July 30, 1853.

[13] Manuscript letters from Palmquist in the archives of Bethel Seminary, Stockholm, dated March 24, November 19, December 8, 1852, January 17, August 24, October 28, 1853, April 13, June 17, November 28, 1854.

An illuminating incident occurred in 1854 in the New Sweden settlement in Jefferson County, Iowa. When Nilsson had arrived in Burlington at the close of the previous year, he had found it difficult to get in touch with the Swedes and when he did approach them, he was usually told that they wished to hear nothing of his heretical doctrine. The Lutheran pastor at New Sweden, M. F. Håkanson, had already prepared the way for the Lutheran church by holding informal meetings. In the absence of Håkanson, Nilsson rose to address a meeting, whereupon a number left, despite the fact that the Baptist refrained from expounding his doctrine. When Håkanson was informed of the activity of Nilsson, he circulated a letter to keep his flock in the " true faith." Håkanson returned on New Year's Day, and he and Nilsson dined together. They enlivened their repast with a doctrinal discussion that grew so hot that the Lutheran disputant left the room; but he continued the argument by attacking his antagonist in a sermon that evening.

The sequel to the disputation is so remarkable that if it were not supported by documentary evidence, it would be more appropriate in the pages of fiction than of history. Within a few weeks Håkanson resigned from the Lutheran congregation and openly admitted that the Baptists were right. With much joy Nilsson and Palmquist went from Burlington to New Sweden to hold a reception for the new members of the Baptist congregation, among whom Håkanson and his wife were the most conspicuous. The following day the neophytes were to be baptized in the muddy Skunk River, and at the appointed time all were assembled with the exception of Håkanson and his spouse. Somewhat later he appeared alone to announce that on his way to the place of immersion he had met Hasselquist, who had come from Galesburg to save the situation for Lutheranism, and that he was persuaded that the sprinkling he had received in infancy was all-sufficient.[15]

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[14] Letters from Nilsson to Wiberg, April 21, June 7, 1855, and from Norelius to Wiberg, April 25, 1855, in Bethel Seminary.

With Eric-Jansonists, Episcopalians, Methodists, Baptists, Mormons, and Lutherans contending for the faith, the first two decades of the history of Swedish America were rich in controversy; the Lutherans reaped the greatest harvest, but all of them found more tares than wheat. In proportion to the total Swedish population, church members were greatly in the minority. The Lutheran pastors pleaded in vain with many of their countrymen that their church was very different from the institution they were compelled to support in the Old Country; Unonius evoked even less response to his appeal that the church he represented was cut from the same pattern as the old church; and the Methodists and Baptists learned that the *läsare* were loyal to Lutheranism and that the "worldly" immigrants were cold to their appeals to walk the straight and narrow path of the Puritan. The mass of the immigrants were nominal Lutherans, with a leaven of pietists. This little band of pietists founded the Augustana Synod and gave it its distinctive character. A small residue, repelled by certain remnants of the polity and practice of the Church of Sweden and attracted to Calvinism, formed the nucleus of Swedish Methodism and Baptism. The most formidable rival of the Augustana Synod, the Mission Covenant, did not appear until the seventies and eighties.

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[15] Nilsson to Wiberg, January 30, 1854; Palmquist to Wiberg, March 11, April 7, 13, 1854. The account in Norelius, *Historia,* 1: 93–97, is in agreement with the Baptist version.

CHAPTER XV

THE EPISCOPALIANS

IT WILL be recalled that the Swedish Episcopal church in the United States dates from the organization of the St. Ansgarius congregation in Chicago, in May 1849, just a few weeks previous to the arrival of Esbjörn at Andover. The first pastor, Gustaf Elias Marius Unonius, had settled at Pine Lake, Wisconsin, in 1841, and for a few years had sought to eke out an existence as a pioneer farmer. In his frontier cabin he had made the acquaintance of J. Lloyd Breck, the Episcopal missionary in Wisconsin, who made a great impression on him. He entered the Episcopal seminary at Nashotah and in 1845 took orders in the Protestant Episcopal church. From that time until 1858, when he returned to Sweden, he was in the service of that church.

Unonius was born in Helsingfors, Finland, on August 25, 1810, and died in Hacksta parish, Uppland, Sweden, on October 14, 1902. His father, Israel Unonius, a barrister and scion of an old Swedish family, moved to Sweden when Finland came under the domination of Russia. He had mapped out a military career for his son, and Gustaf accordingly became a cadet at the Karlberg military school. But he seems to have had no taste for the soldier's life, and soon he became a student at Uppsala University, where he prepared himself for the legal profession. During the cholera epidemic in 1834 he was an assistant in a pesthouse, and thereafter he returned to the university to study medicine; but again his plans were upset, and he became a clerk in the office of the provincial government at Uppsala. During these years he had an urge to write, and some of the products of his pen appeared in print, but the rejection of others by publishers contributed to his dissatisfaction with the clerkship and outlook for the future. At the age of thirty-one he decided to make a career for himself and his bride in the western republic, about which he had read in the newspapers and in the emigrant guides that were beginning to appear on the market.

There is no evidence that Unonius was interested in theology when he left Sweden, but his later writings show him to have been an apt student and no mean antagonist in theological controversy. His decision to enter the ministry was probably influenced to some extent by aversion to the drudgery of farming, but there is no basis for the insinuation some writers have made that his character was unworthy of a minister of the gospel. True, his brusqueness and lack of diplomacy repelled some of his associates and probably reacted unfavorably on his cause, but it must be remembered that he worked under great difficulties; moreover, he was utterly unable to understand the nonconformist temper of his countrymen in the New World. He found what others before and after him learned, that a frontier environment was not fruitful soil for planting stiff, formal, liturgical churches. He was undoubtedly sincerely convinced of the historicity of the apostolic succession; but even if he had not been, he was bound to adhere to it so long as he was the servant of the Episcopal church; Esbjörn, on the other hand, was not bound to subscribe to any specific doctrine in order to get financial assistance from the American churches.

With the hope and expectation that the archbishop of Sweden would cooperate with him, Unonius addressed a letter to that dignitary stating what he contemplated doing and asking for a statement as to possible divergencies between the Church of Sweden and the Protestant Episcopal church. He had already reached the conclusion that the differences were minor; and when the letter from the archbishop pointed out three major points of disagreement, he did not swerve in his conviction that as a Lutheran he could take orders in the Episcopal church and still keep his Lutheranism unblemished. Although there was not a single Swedish Lutheran pastor in the country when the inquiry was made, he sensed the advantage of having in his possession a letter of approval from the highest ecclesiastical dignitary in Sweden. The outcome, as has been stated, was the organization of the St. Ansgarius congregation under the jurisdiction of the Diocese of Illinois of the Protestant Episcopal church, with a constitution subscribing to the "apostolic faith and communion, under episcopal jurisdiction, as it is sanctioned and preserved in our native land."[1]

In the preceding chapter we have seen how the controversy raged between Unonius and the Lutherans; in this chapter we are concerned with the growth and development of the church Unonius founded and the efforts made to establish official relations with the Church of Sweden and to lead the Augustana Synod into the haven of Episcopal jurisdiction.

Unonius received little encouragement on his visits to the Swedish settlements in Illinois, Minnesota, and Iowa; and when he returned to Sweden in 1858, it was with the feeling that his mission was a failure. He succeeded in obtaining a substantial donation from Jenny Lind and support from the American Episcopal church, but all there was to show for his nine years of labor was a church edifice and a congregation with a fluctuating membership. There was no other organized congregation. It was with a heavy heart that he set himself to the task of writing his reminiscences in the hope that the royalties would contribute to the support of his family while he awaited the reply to his application for ordination in the Church of Sweden, and after this was refused, some other means of livelihood.

To the end of his long life of more than ninety years he kept in touch with friends in the American church and watched its progress with keen interest. When he was eighty years old and living in retirement on the estate of his wealthy son-in-law, the old fire blazed forth as he read Norelius' history in which his character and his activity in America were described. He could not allow the assertions of the young man he had met but forgotten to go unchallenged; his reply was published in 1896 as a supplement to his reminiscences, just at the time the Swedish Episcopal church was making heroic efforts to increase its activity.[2]

After the resignation of Unonius the St. Ansgarius congre-

[1] Unonius, *Minnen,* 2: 42–44, 338–341.

[2] *Bihang till "Minnen från en sjuttonårig vistelse i nordvestra Amerika,"* Stockholm, 1896. Norelius replied to Unonius in "Svar till G. Unonius på hans 'Bihang till Minnen från en 17-årig vistelse i nordvestra Amerika.'" *Tidskrift,* 1899, pp. 15–51.

gation went into an eclipse. It was without a Swedish pastor until 1861, when Jacob Bredberg, a former curate from Sweden, who had sojourned in the Methodist camp for a few years after coming to America, took charge. It was during his pastorate, which continued until 1877, that the great fire destroyed the church and added immeasurably to the burdens of pastor and laymen. But a new edifice arose from the ruins of the old. Pastors came and went during the ten years following Bredberg's rectorate, but when Herman Lindskog became rector, in 1887, the congregation was near dissolution. Before taking orders in the Episcopal church, Lindskog had served as a Methodist preacher both in Sweden and in the United States.[3] Down to the close of the decade of the eighties the work of the Swedish Episcopal church was largely confined to the one congregation in Chicago.

One of the most serious difficulties of the Episcopal church was to secure pastors. The other Swedish churches sprang from more or less spontaneous movements. Groups of laymen who met in homes for devotion and spiritual edification became the nuclei of congregations, and laymen, often with meager education, were licensed or ordained to serve them. In many instances the members of a group appointed one of their number to conduct regular services, relying upon ministers to visit them occasionally to administer the sacraments. In a sense, therefore, these churches originated in laymen's missionary movements. Among the immigrants were many who had taken active part in conventicles in the old country.

The Episcopal church, on the other hand, was established by churchmen, who emphasized liturgical conformity and a certain type of polity. Concerning Unonius' visit to Chisago Lake, Minnesota, in 1852, a layman wrote as follows:

> Unonius of Chicago has been here and administered the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. The service was solemn, but it was lacking in that mysteriousness of the gospel which passeth all human understanding. He preached the Word of God and expounded the doctrine of the Lord's Supper in accordance with our confession, but in all respects followed the example of the Church of Sweden. . . . He admonished us not to depart from our confession and

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[3] Olson, *History of the Swedes of Illinois*, 1:412–422.

warned us against the Baptists and other sects, but insisted that no pastoral acts could be performed by a layman and referred us to English Episcopal clergymen when such services were required. For my own part this means nothing, because I attach more importance to the authority of Christ and the Word than to ordination and gown.[4]

If this statement represents the position of the religiously minded immigrant, as it undoubtedly does, the Episcopal clergymen had to be recruited from a very small element that contained relatively few who chose the ministry as a profession. Moreover, the Episcopal church represented itself as the "Swedish national church," and this made little or no appeal to an immigrant stock having little national coherency; with the passing years it repelled rather than attracted the grandchildren of the pioneers.[5] The use of the liturgy and hymnal of the Church of Sweden proved to be of no special advantage, because the Augustana Synod also adopted it in all essentials. At the English services the *Book of Common Prayer* is almost as "foreign" to the present generation as the Swedish language.

Among the *läsare,* leaning as they did toward the nonliturgical churches, those who recruited the membership of the Episcopal church were the persons who were repelled by the "narrow" outlook on life for which the Augustana Synod stood. In some instances congregations were organized by men and women who had been expelled or who had left of their own accord when the Lutheran congregations had disciplined members for joining secret societies or indulging in the pleasures of the dance and the card table.[6] It goes without saying that a not inconsiderable number of those who took a more liberal attitude joined churches of other denominations.

Under these circumstances the ministers of the Swedish Episcopal church were recruited largely from the ecclesiastical estate in Sweden and from the clergy of other churches. A few came from the Augustana Synod, either after ordination or during their student years. Some of them who had not given a very good account of themselves before making the change apparently did little better afterwards, though it must be remembered that the other churches naturally gave much publicity to such lapses and perhaps magnified them. In the case of ministers coming from the Church of Sweden, the validity of the episcopate of that church was recognized. According to William C. Pope, a member of the " Swedish Committee " of the Diocese of Minnesota, " the moot question of the validity of Swedish orders is only doubtful among American churchmen on account of their ignorance of Swedish history." [7] With reference to the Swedish churches on the Delaware an Episcopalian historian writes:

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[4] Norelius, *Historia,* 1: 547.

[5] St. Ansgarius Church advertised itself as the "Swedish national church." See *Svenska Amerikanaren,* September 16, 1868.

[6] St. Sigfrid's Church in St. Paul grew out of a "split" in the First Lutheran Church. The windows of the former church edifice bear the insignia of the lodges that donated them — a feature that could not be imagined in an Augustana Synod church.

> Sweden had been fortunate enough to come out of the storm of the Reformation with her hierarchy standing, somewhat damaged to be sure, but sufficiently secure to gain recognition. The minister who came with the Swedish colony, and his brethren who followed him, had all been episcopally ordained.[8]

In his address to the convention in 1861, Bishop Henry John Whitehouse, in referring to the admission of Jacob Bredberg to the rectorship of St. Ansgarius Church, said:

> In this, of course, I have formally recognized the validity of the episcopate in that venerable Church [of Sweden]; guided in this act by the best-informed judgment of the English church and that of my own brethren in the episcopate here, whose opinion was favorably, though informally, expressed in answer to my own request for it during the last session of the House of Bishops in Richmond.[9]

In conformity with this view churchmen from Sweden visiting the United States were from time to time licensed or permitted to minister in American Episcopal churches. In 1891 P. E. Mellin, a former professor at Augustana College and Bethany College, visited Sweden and advertised in the papers for men to study in America and to take orders in the American church. About thirty responded, of whom ten were chosen to study at the General Theological Seminary in New York.[10]

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[7] W. C. Pope, *Affiliation of Swedish and American Churchmen,* Milwaukee, 1894, Preface.

[8] S. D. McConnell, *History of the American Episcopal Church,* 10th ed., Milwaukee, 1916, pp. 69–70.

[9] Quoted in Wordsworth, *The National Church of Sweden,* 402 ff.

Since 1856 the Protestant Episcopal church has maintained the Joint Committee on Friendly Relations with the Church of Sweden. The primary purpose of this body has been to persuade the archbishop of the Church of Sweden to consecrate a bishop for the Swedes in the United States, to have missionary supervision over the congregations without respect to territorial or diocesan jurisdiction and to be received as a member of the House of Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal church. The Augustana Synod was invited to join with the committee in applying for a bishop.[11] In 1860 Henry M. Mason, a clergyman at Easton, Maryland, wrote to the Swedish minister to the United States to this end. At a convocation of clergy at Uppsala in 1865, the Reverend Mr. May of London stated that the president of the Augustana Synod could be consecrated as bishop and that the synod could retain its ritual and faith.[12]

What appeared to be a victory for the Episcopalians was won by Bishop Whitehouse on his mission to Sweden in the summer of 1866. He received a cordial welcome from the archbishop and the clergy and communed at the Lord's table with them. An arrangement was made whereby letters of dismission were to be issued to immigrants, recommending them to Episcopal congregations in places where no Lutheran congregations existed. While preference was thus given to the Lutheran church, the proposal so disturbed Hasselquist, president of the Augustana Synod, that he was prompted to write to *Hemlandet* and to Wieselgren at Gothenburg requesting his views of the situation in the Old Country.[13] Wieselgren replied that the apostolic succession made little appeal, but that his reply was not entirely reassuring is indicated by the fact that in 1870 Hasselquist made a visit to Sweden partly for the purpose of counteracting the growing friendliness between individuals of Anglican tendencies on both sides of the Atlantic.

[10] Pope, *Affiliation of Swedish and American Churchmen,* 42–43; *Skaffaren,* St. Paul, March 17, 1880; *Hemlandsvännen,* Rock Island, March 5, 1891.

[11] *Tidskrift,* 1899, pp. 30–48.

[12] MSS letters, dated January 27, March 26, July 9, 1860, in *Riksarkivet;* letter from L. P. Esbjörn to *Hemlandet,* August 9, 1865.

[13] *Svenska Amerikanaren,* March 27, July 24, 1867; *Hemlandet,* July 16, 1867; Hasselquist to Wieselgren, April 6, July 17, 1867, December 9, 1868; *Tidskrift,* 1899, pp. 30–38. See the letter of Jonas Swensson, pastor of the Swedish Lutheran church at Andover, to a pastor in Sweden, October 4, 1867, in *Ungdomsvännen,* Rock Island, March, 1904.

In Gothenburg Hasselquist met J. P. Tustin, an Episcopal clergyman who was in Sweden on a mission similar to that of Whitehouse and who had been sent by him. Tustin presented to Hasselquist the proposition for the affiliation of the Augustana Synod with his church, but it was, of course, disapproved. Tustin was commissioned by the Continental Improvement Company, a subsidiary of several railway companies, to recruit settlers for Swedish colonies to be established in the region of Grand Rapids, Michigan. He held out the promise that the immigrants would be accompanied by a pastor from the Church of Sweden and the prospect that a bishop would be consecrated in Sweden to have supervision of their congregations as well as others. An extensive advertising campaign was launched in the press, and *Amerika,* a Gothenburg paper owned and financed by emigration and land companies, published an extra number devoted almost exclusively to the combined church and railway project. Although a few immigrants swallowed the bait, the results of Tustin's campaign were meager.[14]

Mellin's mission to recruit ministerial candidates in Sweden coincided with a revival of Episcopal activity after a lull of several years. In 1889 two students who had been advised to discontinue their theological studies at Augustana Seminary became Episcopalians, and within the next three or four years several others took orders and new congregations were organized.[15] A separate department to train ministers for the

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[14] *Gospel Messenger,* quoted in *Rätta Hemlandet och Augustana,* December, 1870; *Amerika,* September 1, 1870, April 19, May 31, 1871; *Norrlands-Posten,* September 16, 1870; *Nya Wermlands-Tidningen,* June 15, 1872. The issue of *Augustana* for January 4, 1894, reported that Emil Lund, a former pastor in the Church of Sweden, had gone to Tustin, Michigan, to organize a Swedish Episcopal congregation. Lund later entered the Augustana Synod.

[15] Henry B. Whipple, *Lights and Shadows of a Long Episcopate,* New York, 1899, pp. 435–437; Pope, *Affiliation of Swedish and American Churchmen,* 42–43. A valuable dissertation with a strong anti-Episcopal bias is G. Juhlin, "Protestantiska episcopal kyrkans mission bland svenskarne i Norra Amerika," *Augustana,* August 7–September 4, 1902. Wordsworth's *The National Church of Sweden* is fair in spirit, but somewhat inaccurate. This book was originally delivered in the form of lectures by the Bishop of Salisbury in the interest of closer relations between the Anglican church, the Church of Sweden, the American Protestant Episcopal church, and the Augustana Synod. Consult Per Pehrsson, "Det engelska biskopsbesöket i Amerika," *Svensk Kyrkotidning,* October 3, 10, 1910. The writer, a prominent churchman in Sweden, opposes the "proselyting" of the Episcopal church and believes that the Church of Sweden should be careful to safeguard its position with reference to the Augustana Synod in its relations with the Anglican church. The article was written in anticipation of the lectures to be delivered by the Bishop of Salisbury in Chicago in November, 1910.

Swedish work was set up in the General Theological Seminary in New York.[16] In response to a petition from the Swedish clergy in 1893 the board of managers of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal church authorized the appointment of a general missionary and superintendent of Swedish work, and Johan Gottfried Hammarsköld, who had previously led his congregation out of the Augustana Synod into the Episcopal church, was chosen for the position.[17] On the occasion of the visit of Bishop von Schéele as a guest of the Augustana Synod in 1893, it was alleged that the plan was to have him confirm a class in St. Ansgarius congregation of Minneapolis, in order to emphasize the identity of the Episcopal church with the Church of Sweden.[18] In 1900, however, the only tangible results of the renewed efforts of the Episcopal church were about a dozen Swedish congregations and about two thousand communicant members. Only three congregations were self-supporting.[19]

Notwithstanding these rather meager results, the Augustana Synod became alarmed, and the faculty of Augustana Theological Seminary requested a formal statement from the Swedish bishops with reference to their attitude toward the Augustana Synod. Six bishops replied that they had confidence in the Augustana Synod and knew of no other Swedish Lutheran church in the United States. One bishop wrote that the Episcopal church could not claim to be Lutheran because it was a compromise between Romanism and Calvinism and on certain points departed from Lutheran doctrine. Four years previously, in reply to a communication from the editor of a Swedish paper in Jamestown, New York, Archbishop Sundberg had stated that he could understand why the proselyting of the Episcopalians was distasteful to the Augustana Synod and expressed surprise that they should cite his authority for their activity. He admitted, however, that some years previously he had written to a bishop in the West that he was grateful for the interest the Episcopal church had shown in the Swedes where there was no Lutheran church, because he considered that church preferable to the other sects. He denied that he had ever recommended to Swedes that they should leave the Lutheran church in favor of the Episcopal.[20] At the annual meeting of the Augustana Synod in 1893 the president reported that the Episcopal church had not replied to a communication from the Augustana Synod two years previously, in spite of the fact that the bishop in St. Paul had promised that a reply would be forthcoming after a meeting of the House of Bishops.[21]

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[16] V. Berger, *Vår kyrka,* Brooklyn, 1912, pp. 15–17.

[17] *Augustana,* June 10, 1893; *Hemvännen,* June 23, 1888.

[18] C. A. Hultkrans, in *Ungdomsvännen,* Minneapolis, April, 1899.

[19] Juhlin, in *Augustana,* August 14, 1901.

An interesting meeting sponsored by the Swedish Episcopal churches was held in Providence, Rhode Island, from May 8 to 12, 1901, which was given unusual publicity because of the attendance of Gustaf Flodén, a pastor in the Diocese of Gothenburg. The circumstances that had brought this Swedish churchman to the United States are not entirely clear. It appears that a controversy had arisen between an Augustana pastor and certain Episcopal, Congregationalist, and Mission Friend pastors over the validity of church letters issued by their respective churches and presented in Sweden by returned emigrants. Certain Augustana and Episcopal ministers addressed inquiries to the ecclesiastical authorities in Sweden, and a minister in the latter communion went to Sweden, where he fell in with Flodén. It is said that the two men arranged for a visit of the latter to the United States in the interest of the Episcopalians. In any event, Flodén did nothing to contradict the impression that he was authorized by the Gothenburg Consistory to represent the Church of Sweden in an official capacity, although this was later flatly contradicted by the consistory.

The discussions at the Providence meeting centered chiefly around the mission of the Episcopal church among the Swedes in America and the relation between that church and the Church of Sweden. Naturally the speakers urged the similarity of the two ecclesiastical establishments; but Flodén went so far as to say that the Church of Sweden was not Lutheran and that Luther's writings were no longer cited as authority. He predicted that the future would see a close communion between the Church of Sweden and the Episcopal church—sister churches, as he called them. These sentiments, of course, called forth protests from Augustana leaders, and four pastors addressed themselves to the bishop of Gothenburg to ascertain the " official " status of the speaker.

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[20] *Hemvännen,* June 23, 1888; *Fosterlandet,* Chicago, April 20, 1892; *Österns Väktare,* cited in *Augustana,* February 14, 1892.

[21] *Augustana,* June 14, 1893.

It so happened that Lars G. Abrahamson, a prominent Augustana pastor, was in Sweden in the autumn of that year and was invited to address a meeting of the pastors in the Diocese of Gothenburg. He explained and defended the polity and practice of the Augustana Synod, whereupon Flodén arose and maintained that the Augustana churches were architecturally unchurchly; that members of secret societies were excluded from membership; and that if a bishop desired to partake of the Lord's Supper, he would have to subject himself to an inquisition. Abrahamson reported upon his return that he himself had been congratulated by the pastors and had received the assurance that Flodén represented neither the sentiment of the diocese nor of the pastors in the kingdom in general.[22]

In the next chapter the relations between the Augustana Synod and the Church of Sweden will be discussed in more detail. Let it suffice to say in this connection that with the turn of the century the advantage lay with the Augustana Synod as against the Protestant Episcopal church, particularly after the succession of the ecumenical and liberal Archbishop Söderblom in 1914. His attitude toward the Anglican church and the Protestant Episcopal church was most cordial, but he cultivated assiduously the good will of the Augustana Synod. In the reply of the Swedish bishops to the Lambeth Conference, dated April 20, 1922, just a year before the epochal visit of Archbishop Söderblom to the United States, the attention of the Church of England was called to the fact that the Augustana Synod was considered a daughter of the Church of Sweden, with which the latter organization had intercommunion and very intimate fellowship, and that no conclusions with regard to the Augustana Synod could be drawn from agreements made by the Church of Sweden for the promotion of unity in the Church of Christ. The Swedish bishops admitted, however, that for some years after 1866 Swedish emigrants to the United States had been recommended to the Protestant Episcopal church in places where there was no access to a Swedish Lutheran church.[23] Despite the fact that the Church of Sweden never entered into the intimate relationship desired by the Protestant Episcopal church, it is evident that Archbishops Wingård, Reuterdahl, and Sundberg had strong leanings toward the Anglican church and looked with no little distrust on the Augustana Synod.

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[22] Proceedings of the meeting at Providence, in *Augustana,* May 23, 1901; articles by K. N. Rabenius, P. J. O. Cornell, "Comes," L. G. Abrahamson, and M. J. Englund, *Augustana,* June 6, July 4, 11, October 10, 24, 1901; Juhlin, in *Augustana,* August 14, 1902. See also C. A. Blomgren, *Är episcopalkyrkans mission bland våra landsmän i Amerika berättigad?* Rock Island, 1894.

The history of the Swedish Episcopal church from its inception under Unonius down to the present is not impressive, if the number of congregations and their membership is a correct standard of measurement. Neither is the record of the Augustana Synod a matter for congratulation, since it has gathered into its fold but a small percentage of the immigrants. The potential losses of the Augustana Synod have not redounded to the gain of the Episcopal church, however. The eastern states have been the most intensively cultivated by the Episcopalians, probably for the reason that the Swedish population, being more recently recruited from the fatherland, has been less Americanized than in the Mississippi Valley. But with the virtual cessation of emigration from Sweden after the enactment of the immigration law of 1924 and the indifference to religion of the recent immigrants, the appeal of the Swedish Episcopal church that it is the " Swedish national church " falls on deaf ears. In the Swedish centers of St. Paul and Minneapolis the Swedish Episcopal parishes have shrunk in number from four to two, and these two, St. Sigfrid's Church and St. Ansgarius Church, have declined in membership and show signs of early death. Some ten years ago or more an unworthy priest wrecked the historic St. Ansgarius parish in Chicago and lost all the property, and the wreck was salvaged only by the heroic efforts of visiting ministers and parishioners. In 1890 there were four priests; in 1900 twenty-six; in 1910 twenty-seven; and in 1920 eleven. The secretary for foreign-born Americans in the National Council, in commenting on this trend of events in 1929, recognized it as normal and deliberate and stated that in ten or fifteen years there would be no need of Swedish work at all. In 1920 a dean and an associate dean of Scandinavian work under the National Council were appointed, but the churches are hastening toward the exclusive use of English.[24]

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[23] " The Reply of the Swedish Bishops to the Lambeth Conference," signed by Nathan Söderblom, Gottfr. Billing, and Hj. Danell. The document is printed without editorial comment in the *Lutheran Church Review,* Philadelphia, October, 1923, pp. 298–307.

In commenting on the visit of J. G. Hammarsköld, dean of Scandinavian work in the Episcopal church, to Galesburg, Illinois, in 1928, the *Lutheran Companion,* English organ of the Augustana Synod, wrote as follows:

> We take it that the membership of St. John's, Galesburg, consists of former Swedish Lutherans who believe they have found a better spiritual home within the fold of the Episcopal church, the church that does not hesitate to proselyte while at the same time it extends the hand of fellowship, the church that appeals to so many modernistic minds by its Episcopalism, its ritualism, and its liberal view of life.[25]

Thus the controversy between the *läsare* spirit and "broader" outlook on life continues. As a basis for controversy between the two churches this difference of opinion is still vital, but with the declining influence of the Church of Sweden in its native habitat and the steady retreat of the Swedish language in the United States, the favor and blessings of the church of Gustavus Adolphus mean little to the American citizen two or three generations removed from the land for which that hero fought and died. It is immaterial to them whether or not the Church of Sweden accepts or abjures the doctrine of the apostolic succession. In spite of the contention of Unonius and many able men after him, the preponderance of evidence points to the fact that the Church of Sweden regards the episcopate as by no means indispensable to the constitution of the Christian church.

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[24] Thomas Burgess, *Swedish Folk within Our Church. The Rise, Normal Decline, and Glorious Results of a Half a Century's Work,* New York, 1929, a sixteen-page illustrated pamphlet published by the Department of Missions of the National Council, sent to the writer through the courtesy of Dean Hammarsköld.

[25] *Lutheran Companion,* February 18, 1928.

CHAPTER XVI

THE AUGUSTANA SYNOD AND SWEDEN

WHEN the Swedes seceded from the Synod of Northern Illinois and set up the independent Augustana Synod in 1860, they sacrificed whatever financial aid the General Synod might have been able to give and faced the future with many perplexities and problems. They could, however, appeal to the Church of Sweden as a " daughter " who had coquetted with Calvinism, but had come away with her Lutheranism pure and undefiled. They were now a little more soft-spoken in their attitude toward the old church, for it was necessary to turn to Sweden, now that no aid was forthcoming from the Americans.

Their feeling of isolation is expressed in a letter from Erland Carlsson to Wieselgren written during the interval between the seceding convention of the Scandinavian Conference in Chicago in April and the first meeting of the Augustana Synod at Jefferson Prairie, Wisconsin, in June, 1860. Carlsson wrote that the Swedes faced a hard struggle and that the future looked dark. They were confronted with the necessity of establishing their own institution to train ministers, and they had no money to maintain it. Not knowing to whom to turn for financial assistance and help in collecting a library, Carlsson asked Wieselgren for advice, recognizing his past interest in the Swedish-Americans and his influence with those in authority.[1] The synod authorized the board of directors of Augustana Seminary to appoint an agent to visit Sweden, and the choice fell upon O. C. T. Andrén, pastor of the church in Moline, who sailed in September, 1860.[2]

Andrén found Archbishop Reuterdahl hesitant about raising money for Augustana Seminary because he doubted that the money would be used for that purpose. He believed that the

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[1] Carlsson to Wieselgren, May 7, 1860.

[2] *Augustana-synodens protokoll*, 1860; Andrén to Wetterstedt, July 30, 1860 (MS in *Riksarkivet*).

Augustana Synod would disintegrate and that the Swedes would be swallowed up by the sects, there being no episcopate to stabilize it. To this Andrén replied that if a guarantee were demanded, the money could be paid to the Swedish embassy at Washington until the real estate holdings of the synod had been investigated. He argued further that something had to be risked in a cause so worthy and that it would make for cordial relations between the two countries. The king, Charles XV, and the ecclesiastical minister, Hamilton, were more responsive, and it was probably pressure from them that won over the conservative archbishop.[3]

All things considered, Andrén carried out his mission with credit. He was armed with an address "From the Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Congregations in North America to the Mother Church in the Old Fatherland," [4] a document probably written by Carlsson, that was quite different from the "Words of Welcome" penned by Esbjörn ten years before. It expressed the assurance that the Swedes in the United States had a warm regard for Sweden and would continue to use the Swedish language.

Andrén was fortunate in getting the ear of Baron Posse, the editor of *Wäktaren,* an influential Stockholm church paper. Posse was in touch with Wieselgren, with whom he had cooperated in sending ministers to America. An extra four-page number of *Wäktaren* was devoted to Andrén's account of emigration, the first religious activity among the Swedes, the reasons for the secession of the Scandinavians, the organization of the Augustana Synod, and the outlook for the future. The editor prefaced a long introduction emphasizing the organization of the Augustana Synod as a guarantee that the Swedes would remain loyal to the Lutheran faith and presenting them as alone worthy of aid from the fatherland, in contradistinction to the sons who went into other churches or failed to go into any church. A list of places in Stockholm where contributions could be left was also published. Andrén delivered addresses in many places and was invited to preach in a number of churches.[5]

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[3] Andrén to Wieselgren, March 14, 1861; *Rätta Hemlandet och Augustana,* October, 1872.

[4] It was printed in *Wäktaren,* November 1, 1860, and in *Lunds Missions-Tidning,* December, 1860. It was probably given publicity in other papers.

The tangible results of his activity were the selection of some five thousand volumes from the private library of Charles XV as the nucleus for the library of Augustana Seminary and the promise of collections in the churches of the realm, which finally amounted to somewhat more than ten thousand dollars. The remittances were sent to the Swedish minister to the United States through the minister of foreign affairs and turned over to Erland Carlsson, president of the board of directors of Augustana Seminary.[6] The sum was not large, to be sure, but in the unsettled state of affairs during the Civil War it was a substantial gift. To Wieselgren more than to any other individual Andrén was probably indebted for the fortunate turn of affairs;[7] but men like Rosenius, Elmblad, and Posse, as well as the National Evangelical Foundation, the Swedish Missionary Society, and the Lund Missionary Society contributed good will and money.[8] Andrén also presented the cause of the Augustana Synod, which included a few Norwegian congregations, before an ecclesiastical meeting in Oslo, but it was next to impossible to inspire enthusiasm for an organization that had received such hard knocks from the high-church Norwegian Synod.

Prior to the organization of the Augustana Synod immigration was only a trickle as compared with the torrent that rushed in during the years following the Civil War. It not only taxed the capacity of emigrant ships and furnished a fat living for syndicates of swindling emigration agents whose nets were spread in both countries, but it taxed the resources of the synod to profit by the large additions to the Swedish population of the country. As a matter of fact, it enrolled a very small proportion of this seething mass of humanity. In the first place, many of the immigrants had been swayed by the remarkable religious revival that had swept over the provinces from which came the bulk of the newcomers, and many others were recruited from the element that was hostile or indifferent to organized religion; the Augustana churches made little appeal to either the hyperevangelical or the skeptical. Moreover, the immigrants who thought of Lutheranism in terms of the established church cried for "cultured pastors" to replace the strait-laced, often crude, *läsare* type. They felt no more at home in an Augustana church than they had in a mission chapel conducted by a colporteur. The grist for the Augustana theological mill was scanty, therefore, and men were ordained or licensed to preach who had the barest minimum of education. The great need was for educated, consecrated, zealous, and energetic men to preach the gospel and to adminster the sacraments.

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[5] *Wäktaren,* November 28, 1860.

[6] Letters and receipts from Carlsson to Count Piper are preserved in *Riksarkivet.* The remittances from the various dioceses were not always prompt. Andrén never returned to the United States; he reentered the Church of Sweden.

[7] Andrén to Wieselgren, February 25, April 10, 1861.

[8] *Rätta Hemlandet och Augustana,* October, 1872.

In 1870, of a total population of about two hundred thousand Swedes, the Augustana Synod included only about sixteen thousand communicant members and its total membership was thirty thousand. Down to 1870 the Church of Sweden had furnished only six pastors, of whom two had returned; down to 1890, of two hundred and ninety-one pastors, only eight had been ordained in Sweden.[9] Obviously the lure of the "dollar land" did not exist for the man, curate or rector, whose time was taxed to issue emigration permits to men and women who talked and dreamed about the "Land of Canaan," so eloquently and inaccurately portrayed in the "America letters." The men who did forsake the fatherland for the express purpose of serving the Lord in the Augustana Synod were chiefly colporteurs, school teachers, and students in institutes for the training of missionaries: the Fjellstedt school, first located at Stockholm and then at Uppsala; the Ahlberg school, first located at Kristdala and then at Hvetlanda; and Johannelund, an institution near Stockholm supported by the National Evangelical Foundation. These candidates were hurried through a brief course in Augustana Seminary before submitting to a brief and inadequate examination of their orthodoxy before the ministerium. Men of this type adapted themselves more readily to the Augustana atmosphere and gave better satisfaction than did men educated in universities and ordained in Sweden.

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[9] *Rätta Hemlandet och Augustana,* September, 1870; C. A. Swensson, in *Augustana,* February 13, 1890.

In 1868 Hasselquist, a man with a refined nature and an appreciation of learning, wrote to Wieselgren that the "mother church" was not expected to supply all wants, but that her aid was needed when the synod could not handle things alone. He feared that the synod was in bad odor in the Diocese of Gothenburg as a result of false reports disseminated by a pastor who had previously been a pastor in the Synod of Northern Illinois but who at that time was seeking admission to the state church. An unusual experience with a pastor recommended by Wieselgren, which will be referred to again later, prompted Hasselquist to explain the reason for the strict insistence on orthodoxy in the Augustana Synod. Wieselgren had suggested that the synod ought not to bind its pastors to all the symbolical books, inasmuch as many doctors of theology in Sweden had never read them. To this Hasselquist replied that a church that governed itself could not allow heretical teachers to fill its professorial chairs and train men to serve congregations. A state church not only could do this, but did it, he continued; and the only way to save the Lutheran church in Sweden was to build up a free church. He explained how the Augustana Synod suffered from the situation in Sweden. Immigrants applied for membership and could not be refused unless guilty of gross sinfulness; and when congregations attempted to enforce discipline and to admonish those who attended theaters and balls, they cried for "cultured pastors from Sweden." This state of affairs, he continued, had contributed not a little to the situation that had developed in the Gustavus Adolphus congregation in New York.[10] We shall now turn our attention to the episode alluded to above, which is as illuminating to the historian as it was vexatious to the Augustana Synod.

Through Wieselgren and Fjellstedt several recruits for the ministry were obtained in the years from 1866 to 1869. It was at this time that Bishop Whitehouse visited Sweden and that *Svenska Amerikanaren* appeared as the mouthpiece of the liberal and cultured element and launched its campaign, directed by Herman Roos, against what it was pleased to call the "tyranny of the Lutheran pastors." Some of the additions to the ministerial ranks caused no little worry to Hasselquist, who was president of Augustana Seminary. They had no inkling of the difficulties that beset the immigrant pastor; some of them had come under the impression that they would receive their fair share of the riches America afforded. Disappointment was inevitable. A case in point is that of Peter Sjöblom, who came to the United States on Wieselgren's recommendation in 1866 and who was a striking and influential personality in the Augustana Synod for almost a half century. He had been a school teacher in Halmstad, with a predilection for the ministry, but without sufficient education to be ordained in the state church. After a few months of apprenticeship under Carlsson at Chicago, he was ordained. Not long thereafter he was writing letters to Sweden warning people against coming to America "to live well." He complained that his salary was inadequate and inquired as to the possibilities of entering the Church of Sweden, but Wieselgren gave him no encouragement.[11]

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[10] Hasselquist to Wieselgren, January 8, 1867, January 3, August 12, 1868.

Among the students in Augustana Seminary who rose to prominence Johan A. Enander and Josua Lindahl were outstanding. Enander abandoned his plan to enter the ministry and became editor of *Hemlandet* in 1869, a position he filled creditably for many years. He was perhaps the most conspicuous layman on the floor of the synod. Lindahl rendered distinguished services to Augustana College as professor of the natural sciences and curator of the museum.[12]

The students recruited in Sweden were often given free board and tuition at the seminary and the expenses of their journey were paid by the Gustavus Adolphus Foundation of Gothenburg with contributions collected by men like Wieselgren and Fjellstedt or with money advanced as loans or gifts by individuals. Indirectly the pastors profited by appropriations from the Gustavus Adolphus Foundation to the cause of inner missions.[13]

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[11] Letters from Sjöblom to Wieselgren, October 30, 1866, January 22, 1867, May 14, 1868, January 23, May 18, 1869; Carlsson to Wieselgren, October 28, 1865; J. O. Ossén to Wieselgren, February 22, 1869.

[12] Among others may be mentioned J. S. Benzon, N. T. Winquist, J. O. Ossén, C. F. Levyn, J. O. Lindgren, and E. Jörlander. Olof Olsson, the most distinguished of all, arrived in 1869, but he was not a member of this group. The following manuscript letters to Wieselgren pertaining to these men are preserved: from Carlsson, August 17, 1865; Josua Lindahl, May 17, 1867; N. T. Winquist, August 1, 1867, February 8, 1868, June 2, 1869; J. A. Enander, February 7, April 29, June 23, July 12, 1869; J. O. Ossén, April 23, December 11, 1869; C. F. Levyn, November 16, 1867, April 19, July 9, August 5, 1869; A. M. Jernell, June 4, 1869; C. A. Alm, July 14, 1869; E. Jörlander, November 18, 1871.

Among the additions to the ministerial ranks were two men who had been ordained in Sweden, one of whom proved to be a heavy liability and left a trail of disaster for the synod. This man was K. Karlén, who was assigned to the Gustavus Adolphus congregation in New York City, a congregation that was unique in its inception and in a certain sense dated back to the ill-fated attempt of Agrelius and the activity of Unonius. After the departure of the latter for Sweden in 1858, renewed efforts had been made to effect an organization, but this was not accomplished until the visit of Erland Carlsson and Andreas Andreen, emissaries of the Augustana Synod, in 1865.

The two pastors had letters of recommendation from English Lutheran ministers to a certain Dr. Smith, who was married to a woman from Stockholm. Smith referred them to Karl Berggren, a former clerk in an Uppsala bank who was then in the employ of an ice company in New York. Berggren assumed the responsibility for the project, and in November, 1865, about eighty persons joined forces in organizing the Gustavus Adolphus Church. John Ericsson, the famous engineer, became a member of the church council and contributed a thousand dollars, although there is no evidence that he was a religious man. Through the Swedish consul, C. Edward Habicht, collections for the benefit of the building fund were taken in the dioceses in Sweden, and thus was furnished another instance of financial assistance secured from the Old Country. As in the case of the funds obtained through the efforts of O. C. T. Andrén, the money was remitted through the Swedish embassy at Washington, although in this instance it was paid directly to a single congregation of the Augustana Synod.[14]

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[13] Carlsson to Wieselgren, August 20, 1867. In 1873 Carlsson went to Sweden to collect money for the new Immanuel Church that was to replace the edifice destroyed in the Chicago fire. Forsander, *Lifsbilder,* första delen, 120. On October 31, 1870, Carlsson wrote to Wieselgren asking for a letter of introduction to Christina Nilsson to be presented to her upon her visit to Chicago with a request for a donation for the church. At the synodical meeting in 1885 the question of whether or not students from the Ahlberg school should be given free tuition at Augustana College was discussed. It was objected that there was no longer the sacrifice entailed in leaving Sweden to become a pastor that had prevailed twenty years before and that the synod should scrutinize the character and credentials very carefully before ordaining men from Sweden. *Ungdomsvännen,* July 15, 1885.

It was largely through the efforts of Wieselgren that Pastor Karlén was sent to take charge of the new congregation in 1867, but he neither liked the synod nor made a favorable impression there; for one thing, he refused to subscribe to the symbolical books, and he could not, therefore, be admitted to the synod but was obliged to labor as a " missionary." The outcome of his anomalous position was that in a sermon he announced that the congregation had been transferred to the jurisdiction of the Episcopal church. As he had not consulted the church council about this radical move, one of the members rose to protest, whereupon Karlén ordered the organist " to play " and the service ended in disorder. Karlén was discharged from the pastorate, but remained in the country for a time before returning to Sweden to stir up opposition to the Augustana Synod. He finally went into the Roman Catholic church.[15]

Hasselquist, as president of the synod, went to New York in an effort to save the situation; but he found that the members thought the Augustana pastors too much like the *läsare* and that it was impossible to enforce discipline because there was " nothing to discipline," with the members attending theaters and dances and threatening to leave the church. Although he was not in possession of positive proof, Hasselquist suspected that the intrigues of the General Synod were partly responsible for the situation, since certain congregations in New York had left that organization and had gone into the newly organized symbolical General Council.

After the departure of Karlén there was no regular pastor for a time and the confusion became worse; it resulted finally in the withdrawal of the congregation from the Augustana Synod, in May, 1868, and this was followed by an application to the ecclesiastical department of the Swedish government to send a pastor and a letter to Wieselgren asking his assistance in selecting the right man for the place.[16] The Gustavus Adolphus congregation thus occupied the unique position of being under an arm of the Swedish government without synodical affiliation.

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[14] Carlsson to Wieselgren, August 17, 1865; Berggren to *Norrlands-Posten,* April 21, 1866; " V. L." to *Nerikes Allahanda,* October 12, 1867; the correspondence between Manderström, the Swedish foreign minister, and Wetterstedt, the minister to the United States, is in *Riksarkivet.*

[15] Norelius, *Hasselquist,* 132–137; *Tidskrift,* 1899, p. 38n.

Naturally the turn of affairs in New York was not gratifying to the Augustana leaders, but they cooperated with Wieselgren in securing a pastor who was not only " cultured " but also spiritual, as perhaps the best way of warding off the affiliation of the congregation with the Episcopal church. Esbjörn, now a pastor in the Church of Sweden, wrote to Wieselgren expressing satisfaction over the fact that the Augustana Synod and the General Council had come to the rescue. He thought it unlikely that the synod would establish connections with the Swedish bishops, because it would only aid the Episcopalians in their eager desire to swallow up the Swedish Lutheran churches. The pastor chosen, Axel Waetter, proved satisfactory to all parties concerned.[17]

These events were only the beginning of difficulties, however. Waetter found his new field most difficult; the immigrants were more interested in money and land than in religion and many of them " slandered " the Lutheran church and cried, " Away with the faith of the fathers and the mother church." Irregularities in the payments of the pastor's salary and the rental on his home caused the trustees to summon the treasurer before them for an inquisition. It was largely because of the conduct of this man of wealth that the congregation withdrew from the Augustana Synod. An investigation revealed that he had embezzled the money collected in Sweden, amounting to almost four thousand dollars, as well as funds gathered through William A. Passavant and the Augustana Synod. He was arrested, but was unable to make good the losses to the congregation.[18]

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[16] Karlén to Wieselgren, March 10, 1867; Carlsson to Wieselgren, August 20, 1867; Hasselquist to Wieselgren, January 3, 1868; Berggren to Youngberg, Swedish consul in New York, February 24, 1869; Robert Nordblom, secretary of the church council, to Wieselgren, February 11, 1868; *Augustana-synodens protokoll,* 1867, 1868.

[17] Nordblom to Wieselgren, May 6, 1868; Waetter to Wieselgren, May 16, June 24, 1868; Hasselquist to Wieselgren, August 12, 1868; Esbjörn to Wieselgren, February 21, 1869.

Waetter returned to Sweden in 1872, and the following year John G. Princell assumed the pastorate. The panic of 1873 so increased the financial difficulties of the congregation that it became necessary to sell its property at auction, and it was now without a church. Again the church council turned to Wieselgren for advice as to the expediency of petitioning the ecclesiastical department for a general collection to be sent to the Swedish consul for deposit in a bank.[19] But naturally nothing came of this; the wonder is that the suggestion was ever made. There were other difficulties, too. The Waldenströmian controversy over the doctrine of the atonement caused a schism in the congregation. Princell himself adopted the new doctrine and was suspended from the Augustana Synod in 1878. Although its pastor was a member of the ministerium of the synod, the Gustavus Adolphus congregation maintained its independent position until 1879, when it adopted a constitution patterned after the one recommended by the synod; within a short time it became a constituent member, and thus was ended a unique chapter in Swedish Lutheran history, one that illuminates the many-sided problems of the Augustana Synod.[20]

The foregoing pages furnish abundant evidence of the increasing problems of the Augustana Synod in the decade of the sixties. It is not too much to say that it was facing a crisis. The mission of Bishop Whitehouse, though not completely successful, was, nevertheless, disturbing. The Norwegian congregations were threatening to secede and set up an independent synod, and the Norwegian Synod was not only carrying on effective propaganda against the Augustana Synod in the United States but was also carrying the war into

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[18] The following correspondence is in *Riksarkivet:* Youngberg to Wetterstedt, August 6, 1868; Waetter to Wetterstedt, February 24, 1869; Wachmeister to Wetterstedt, January 26, 1869; Berggren to Youngberg, February 24, 1869; Wetterstedt to Wachmeister, February 27, 1869. In the Wieselgren papers is correspondence from Waetter to Wieselgren, August 12, December 12, 1868.

[19] Princell to Wieselgren, April 17, 1876.

[20] Josephine Princell, *J. G. Princells levnadsminnen,* Chicago, 1916, pp. 26 ff., 70; *Augustana-synodens protokoll,* 1878.

Sweden.[21] The controversy in the General Synod between the "Americans" and the symbolists that had contributed to the secession of the Scandinavians in 1860 produced a greater secession in 1866, and the following year the General Council was organized on a confessional basis. Although the Augustana Synod did not commit itself to an unconditional affiliation with the General Council until 1870, it sent delegates to its conventions and otherwise showed a friendly spirit. With the General Synod and the General Council competing with it in the same territory, it behooved the Augustana Synod to protect its own interests, more especially against the efforts of the General Synod to proselyte the Swedes, now that the restraining influence of the symbolists was no longer a factor in its counsels. With the death of Rosenius, in 1868, the free-church movement in Sweden became more radical and separatistic under Waldenström; the vanguard of the hyperevangelicals who had already arrived in the United States found too many remnants of the state church in the Augustana Synod to make them feel at home in that organization. In fact, schism was already showing itself in some congregations. Passavant, who as a General Synod man had in the past done so much for the Swedes, was showing now as a member of the General Council the same interest, and he had already come to their assistance in the imbroglio in New York. The Swedes now found the General Council a friend in need, just as they had found the General Synod to be in the early fifties.

It was this complicated situation that impelled Hasselquist to interrupt his work as president and professor at Augustana Seminary, president of the Augustana Synod, and pastor of the congregation at Paxton in order to make a journey to Sweden in the spring of 1870, partly to counteract the growing friendliness toward the Episcopal church and partly to recruit ministers. His letters to Wieselgren in 1868 and 1869 are illuminating. He feared that immigration would bring many opponents of the church and suggested that under the auspices of the Church of Sweden a "Farewell Pamphlet" be printed and placed in the hands of emigrants at Gothenburg and that "Words of Welcome" be handed to them at New York. He stated that the General Synod was trying to encroach on the Augustana Synod and would probably be successful and that thirty additional men were needed for pastoral work. "The General Council wants us to be in closer relations with the Church of Sweden," he said, "but I fear the present archbishop [Reuterdahl] is no friend of our synod." He solicited Wieselgren's advice as to the method of getting in touch with the old church.[22] Through the influence of Passavant, who had a genius for opening the pocketbooks of the wealthy and the poor alike in behalf of the various causes in which he was interested, a wealthy American in Pittsburgh donated the money to finance Hasselquist's trip to Sweden. Of all the pastors in the Augustana Synod, Hasselquist was the most honored in Sweden, partly because from the beginning he had sent over numerous copies of *Hemlandet* in order to make the work of the Swedish Lutheran church in America known to the public.[23]

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[21] In reply to a pamphlet directed against the Augustana Synod, which appeared under the joint authorship of A. Mikkelsen, V. Koren, and F. A. Schmidt, Norwegian Synod men, Erik Norelius contributed an article to *Wäktaren,* June 4, 1868, entitled "Några ord till belysning af striden mellan Augustana-synoden och norska Wisconsin-synoderna i Norra Amerika." As a part of the propaganda conducted by the Augustana Synod in Sweden, Norelius published at Lund in 1870 a book of sixty-six pages entitled *Ev. lutherska Augustana-synoden i Nord-Amerika och dess mission.*

He put the summer to good use. In addition to renewing old acquaintances and making many new ones, he preached about sixty sermons and attended important meetings of churchmen. At the annual meeting of the National Evangelical Foundation in June, 1870, he was accorded the honor of preaching the opening sermon, after which he stated that the purpose of his visit was to acquaint the Swedes in the fatherland with the need of religious work among their immigrant countrymen. He estimated the number of Swedes in the United States at two hundred thousand, of whom not over sixteen thousand belonged to the Augustana Synod. He stated frankly that the Church of Sweden had not only failed to give them motherly care, but had, in fact, looked askance at them. He described the need for gifted and educated ministers from Sweden, since the Augustana Synod had as yet no ample educational facilities. The polity and practice of the synod were also explained. He took occasion to say that great stress was laid on doctrine and that the Swedish-Americans were more Lutheran than when they left Sweden. Hasselquist was paid the unusual compliment of being chosen presiding officer at the general missionary meeting at Hälsingborg on July 27.

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[22] Letters dated December 9, 1868, April 1, December 21, 1869; *Rätta Hemlandet och Augustana,* September, 1870.

[23] In a letter to the editor of *Göteborgs Handels- och Sjöfarts-Tidning,* November 11, 1856, Hasselquist stated that he had previously sent forty-five copies of *Hemlandet* to Sweden, but was compelled to discontinue the practice because of the high tax on papers in Sweden. This manuscript letter is in the *Stadsbibliotek* of Gothenburg.

The response to the campaign for ministerial candidates was encouraging. Many letters of inquiry were received. At a meeting of Uppsala students, whom he addressed upon invitation, Hasselquist was overwhelmed with questions about religious conditions in the United States. The harvest was not great, but he was fairly sure of twelve recruits. Three students from the Ahlberg institute preceded him to America and seven accompanied him on the return voyage, among them Nils Forsander, who became the most distinguished, occupying the chair of church history in Augustana Theological Seminary from 1889 to 1915.[24]

Hasselquist returned with no great enthusiasm for the state church, but his writings began to reveal a tendency toward conservatism and uncompromising orthodoxy. He saw the colporteurs in Sweden through the eyes of a churchman who had already felt the sting of their kind in America. He asserted that most of them, with the exception of those in the service of the Jönköping Tract Society, were possessed of a fanatical hatred of ministers and the office of the ministry. He saw many changes in the old church, but thought an abrupt separation of church and state would be unfortunate.[25]

It was fortunate, or unfortunate, depending on the point of view, that during the years when immigration flowed in a heavy constant stream three ultraconservative men were successive archbishops: Wingård, Reuterdahl, and Sundberg.

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[24] Hasselquist's account of his visit, in *Rätta Hemlandet och Augustana,* September, 1870; *Sändebudet,* Uppsala, July, November, 1870; Forsander, *Lifsbilder,* första delen, 87–88.

[25] Hasselquist's account of his journey, in *Församlingsvännen,* quoted in *Zions Banér,* Galesburg, November 11, 1871; *Rätta Hemlandet och Augustana,* January, 1873.

These men understood neither the spirit nor the problems of the Augustana Synod and were unable to place confidence in a body shot through with the *läsare* spirit. The ministers and official classes displayed intense opposition to emigration, which culminated, shortly after the turn of the present century, in the organization of the National Society against Emigration. When Norelius visited Sweden in 1868, he learned that the Augustana Synod was suspected of being a sort of emigration bureau and that visiting ministers were regarded as emigration agents.[26] It is probably true that on returning to his native parish a man dressed in the garb of a minister was a living advertisement of the opportunities in America, especially if before his emigration he had been as humble and poor as the folks who were left behind. Frequently, too, groups of emigrants accompanied him on his return. When Per Pehrsson attended the semicentennial celebration of the Augustana Synod as a representative of the Church of Sweden in 1910, he advised most strongly against the maintenance of an emigrant home in Gothenburg by the synod for the purpose of making contacts with emigrants and encouraging them to join its congregations; for he felt that it would be most unfortunate if the least suspicion of encouraging emigration should fall upon the synod.[27] Of course Pehrsson, being an active member of the National Society against Emigration, took the extreme position.

With the enactment of the drastic quota laws by the American Congress following the World War, Sweden's emigration problem was arbitrarily solved, and further misunderstandings from that source were eliminated. Not only was the National Society against Emigration dissolved, but some of the very men who had taken the initiative in organizing it now interested themselves in the problem of finding outlets in foreign lands for ambitious countrymen. Simultaneously with the dissolution of the anti-emigration society there was organized the Society for the Preservation of Swedish Culture in Foreign Lands. Certain individuals, like Pehrsson, were active in both. Pehrsson returned from America convinced that the Augustana Synod was the strongest agency for the propagation of the work of the latter foundation and that the Episcopal church had better facilities for Americanizing the Swedes than any other.[28] What the delegate saw through the eyes of a guest who was treated with much courtesy and made the object of much eulogistic oratory was not true to fact. There are far more pastors in the Augustana Synod who resent than who approve the barbed editorials criticizing and lamenting the rapid transition from the Swedish to the English language in congregation after congregation that appear in *Allsvensk Samling,* the organ of the cultural society published at Gothenburg.

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[26] Letter to *Hemlandet,* June 6, 1868.

[27] Pehrsson, *Hälsning från Augustana-synoden framförd vid allmänna svenska prästföreningens möte i Jönköping den 31 aug. 1910,* 10–11.

During the first fifty years of its existence the Augustana Synod had good reason to feel that it was slighted by the Church of Sweden. At the close of the last century the official organ of the synod deplored this indifference and attributed it to opposition to emigration. It cited the interest taken by the " mother " churches of Norway and Germany in their children and the number of pastors and official representatives they had sent to America.[29]

But in 1892 the faculty of Augustana Seminary received an encouraging response from the Swedish bishops in reply to its request for a formal statement of their attitude toward the Augustana Synod. Carl A. Swensson, the energetic president of Bethany College, wrote that now both friend and foe knew " what has been piped and harped " and that there could no longer be any misunderstanding about the relations between the Augustana Synod and the Church of Sweden. " This must taste pretty sour in the mouths of those boastful and haughty clergymen who pretend to represent the Swedish Lutheran church in the United States," he said.[30] It appears that the longing for a kind word from the ecclesiastics in Sweden arose as much from a desire to embarrass the Episcopalians as from any other consideration. Believing the time to be propitious,

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[28] Per Pehrsson, " Svenskheten i Amerika. Några reseintryck," *Årsbok utgifven af Riksföreningen för Svenskhetens Bevarende,* 1910, 1–40; Pehrsson, in *Svensk Kyrkotidning,* October 10, 1910.

[29] *Augustana,* February 17, 1898. S. P. A. Lindahl was editor at this time.

[30] *Fosterlandet,* Chicago, April 20, 1892.

Swensson took the initiative in extending an invitation to the Church of Sweden to send an official representative to the celebration of the tercentennial of the Uppsala meeting of 1593, which was to be held under the auspices of the Augustana Synod at Rock Island in 1893.[31] Strangely enough, it was not the Augustana Synod but the Swedish Lutheran pastoral association of Chicago that extended the invitation, in which Bethany College joined also.

The man chosen for this delicate mission was Bishop K. H. Gez von Schéele, who, despite his very dignified and aristocratic bearing, made a favorable impression and was the guest of honor at several festive occasions in various parts of Swedish America. He sought to allay the mistrust engendered by the letter of dismission that had been interpreted as favoring the Episcopal church at the expense of the Augustana Synod.

Schéele made two subsequent visits, one in 1901 in response to an invitation to attend the twentieth anniversary celebration of Bethany College and the other in 1910 as a guest of the Augustana Synod on the occasion of its semicentennial. The earlier of these visits occasioned many articles and editorials in the Swedish-American press on the relation of the Church of Sweden to the Augustana Synod. Not only was it alleged that the bishop was a Mason and therefore not a good Lutheran, but some uneasy souls saw in his person the prototype of a future bishop in the Augustana Synod. Peter Sjöblom of Minnesota, who always had the floor at synodical and conference conventions and over a long period of years wrote innumerable polemical articles for the press, feared that the mission of the dignitary would be followed by many applications from Swedish-American pastors for admission to the Church of Sweden. The smoldering fire blazed forth again nine years later, during Schéele's third visit to the United States. At a session of the Minnesota Conference the bishop made an address, at the conclusion of which the veteran Sjöblom, presiding officer, instead of responding to the warm words of greeting from the king and Church of Sweden, announced unceremoniously: "The conference will resume its deliberations."

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[31] An account of this celebration is given by C. A. Swensson, " Vårt jubelår och våra jubelfester," in C. A. Swensson and L. G. Abrahamson, *Jubel-album,* Chicago, 1893, pp. 449–499.

Although it must be said that Schéele rather magnified by contrast the democracy of the Augustana Synod and the aristocracy of the Church of Sweden, his sermons and addresses were models of good taste and judgment. He never dropped a word that could be interpreted as an argument for an episcopal form of government or as a criticism of the polity of the synod.[32] On the contrary, in more than one address he recognized the synod as a daughter. Per Pehrsson, who was also a representative of the Church of Sweden at the semicentennial, admitted that the Anglican tendency in the old church made for certain difficulties, but on his return he urged upon his colleagues the necessity of making it plain to the Augustana Synod and to the English and American bishops that the relation between the Swedish and Anglican communions did not place the Church of Sweden in opposition to the Augustana Synod. "We should make that declaration in no uncertain tone," he said.[33]

Shortly after Schéele's second visit, Gustav Andreen, president of Augustana College, emulated the example of O. C. T. Andrén by visiting Sweden in the interests of an endowment fund for the institution he represented. In spite of the economic depression that was swelling the volume of emigration to its greatest proportions since 1882, Andreen found a friendly press and a fairly responsive public.[34]

This growing friendliness is partly due to the fact that with the accession of Nathan Söderblom to the office once occupied by a Wingård, a Reuterdahl, and a Sundberg, a liberal, catholic, ecumenical man, a man of the world in the best sense, was presiding over the Church of Sweden. His attitude toward the Augustana Synod transcended all nationalistic, denominational, and creedal barriers. A new chapter in the story we are relating was begun when he addressed an invitation to the president of the Augustana Synod to send one or more representatives to attend his formal induction into office in November, 1914. Upon his visit to the United States in 1923 pastors and laymen found in him a man after their own hearts. He was more democratic and informal than many Augustana dignitaries, and he never caused embarrassment, as had Bishop and Lady Schéele in parsonages where there was no maid to shine the shoes left outside the door of their chamber. No pastor had occasion to remember Archbishop and Lady Söderblom as guests whose shoes he had polished. True, the archbishop's reputation as a liberal theologian had preceded him, and in the case of a few pastors loyalty to " pure doctrine " overcame their curiosity to see and hear him, but these were not missed in the crowds that thronged to hear and applaud. Both the archbishop and his attractive wife were anxious to show that they were not representative of the haughty stay-at-home Swede, who considered himself much superior to the renegade emigrant and maintained a smug indifference toward the spirit and importance of Swedish America. In New York the archbishop preached in the Episcopal cathedral and had occasion to discuss with Bishop Manning the relations between the Anglican church and the Church of Sweden, as well as both " daughter " churches in the United States.[35]

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[32] K. H. Gez von Schéele, *Hemlandstoner. En hälsning från modern Svea till dotterkyrkan i Amerika,* Stockholm, 1894; "Sverige och svenskarne i Amerika," *Minnen från jubelfesten,* Rock Island, 1911, pp. 61–71; P. Sjöblom, "Det är förbi med republiken; ty den har fått herrar," *Augustana,* June 13, 1901; "S. A. L.," "En fabel exploderad," *Augustana,* August 29, 1901; L. G. Abrahamson, "Biskop Schéeles besök," *Augustana,* December 19, 1901; C. A. Swensson, *Ungdomsvännen,* March, 1903; Aron Edström, "P. Sjöblom," *Prärieblomman,* 1910, p. 162.

[33] Pehrsson, *Hälsning från Augustana-synoden,* 17.

[34] An appeal to the people of Sweden for the endowment, written by Andreen before his election to the presidency, is printed in *Augustana,* August 9, 1900. His report on the results of his mission is printed in *Augustana,* June 18, 1903.

Early in 1930 the archbishop extended the right hand of fellowship to the Augustana Synod by presenting a bishop's cross to the president as a recognition of the " apostolic " character of his office. This is the most significant gesture made by the Church of Sweden since the organization of the Augustana Synod, a gesture that may be interpreted as an effort to disarm the Episcopal church of any claim to " closer communion " with the Church of Sweden. But if the flood of articles in the

[35] Nathan Söderblom, *Från Upsala till Rock Island. En predikofärd i Nya Världen,* Stockholm, 1924, p. 363; Anna Söderblom, *En amerikabok,* Stockholm, 1925, pp. 9–19, 278–279. For the reply of the Swedish bishops to the Lambeth Conference see pages 220–221.

press is an index of the situation, there was no little hesitancy on the part of many to grasp the proffered hand. The official Swedish organ, while rejoicing in the spirit of the act, was careful to state that the bishops of the " mother " church understood that the synod did not have the " historic " episcopacy in the form it existed in Sweden and that there was no likelihood that it ever would. Neither was it optimistic that the " Anglican " church would be silenced. Moreover, the younger and more Americanized element was quick to resent any implication that the synod was a Swedish body.

The opposition to the acceptance of the cross was grounded in the argument that the synod has no bishop and that it is not an episcopal area or diocese of Scandinavia nor an appendix to the Church of Sweden; that participation of the president of the synod in meetings of the bishops of Scandinavia implied these things. It raised the question as to whether or not the Augustana Synod wished to set up a new barrier between itself and the other American Lutheran synods, " not to mention the tens of thousands of prospective brethren in the faith on our expanding home mission fields." At the annual meeting of the Association of English Churches, an organization within the Augustana Synod, a few months previous to the " cross episode," resolutions were adopted declaring that the synod " should continue to grow and to maintain its entity as an American Lutheran church and to fulfill its God-given mission to serve all the people of its American polyglot constituency irrespective of its ethnic antecedents." The association placed itself on record as opposed to any affiliation or union along purely linguistic lines and called upon responsible persons to discontinue the practice of publishing photographs made conspicuous by foreign titles or decorations.[36]

At the annual meeting of the Augustana Synod in June, 1930, the following resolution was adopted by an overwhelming majority:

> We appreciate with sincere gratitude and brotherly affection the noble motives of the archbishop and bishops of Sweden in bestow-

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[36] *Augustana,* February 13, 1930; *Lutheran Companion,* February 15, 1930; P. O. Bersell, " Quo Vadis? " *Lutheran Companion,* March 22, 1930; *Synopsis of Proceedings of the Twenty-fourth Annual Convention of the Association of English Churches, October 26–29, 1929,* 18–20.

ing upon the president of the Augustana Synod a gold cross, and although we do not hereby adopt any episcopal insignia for the incumbent of the president's office, we acknowledge the pronounced desire for stronger fellowship of our churches and join heartily therein; the synod accepts the gift as a symbol of unity of purpose between two independent Lutheran churches.[37]

This resolution, which was introduced by Peter Olof Bersell of Ottumwa, Iowa, was similar to that proposed by the synodical council, with the important difference that the clause "we do not hereby adopt any episcopal insignia for the incumbent of the president's office" was inserted and the words "to be borne by him [the president] and his successors in office as president" were omitted. Thus the office of bishop proved to be no more popular in the Augustana Synod in 1930 than it had been with the men who laid its foundations. The rebuff to the Church of Sweden was deeply disappointing to President Brandelle, but in his attempt to have the matter reconsidered he encountered such opposition as to leave no room for doubt about the temper of the synod.

Except for the fact that it has deplored the onward march of socialism and radicalism, the Augustana Synod has shown little interest in the Swedish government. Congratulatory cablegrams have been sent to the king on various occasions, and in 1905 the synod dispatched a message to Oscar II deploring the dissension between Sweden and Norway and wishing him God's blessing, but such formal communications have but little significance.[38] Until more recent years the Swedish consuls have shown little interest in the Augustana Synod or any other ecclesiastical body, and some of them have been positively hostile.

The "official" relations between the Augustana Synod and the Church of Sweden have been steadily improving, but it can hardly be said that they are cordial. Augustana pastors who have returned from Sweden have lamented the strong strain of rationalism in the state church and its failure to retain the loyalty of the people. A visiting pastor in 1904 reported that he found pastors who scarcely knew that the

[37] *Lutheran Companion,* June 21, 1930.

[38] *Augustana,* June 15, 1905; *Svensk Kyrkotidning,* July 10, 1905.

Augustana Synod existed. In talking with immigrants on the boat he found only two who had the address of the Swedish Lutheran Immigrant Home and not one who had been recommended to Augustana Synod congregations, in spite of the fact that literature concerning those congregations had been sent to the parish pastors. His visit convinced him that he could never enter the state church, and he confessed that he had never felt so happy over being an American as when he was in Sweden.[39]

In 1902 a professor at Augustana College asserted that the professors at Uppsala were surprised to learn that Augustana College was not an institution exclusively for the training of ministers. That Augustana pastors were usually not advanced in the state church beyond the rank of curate was considered in some quarters as an indication that they were regarded as inferior in education and ability.[40] The parish pastors, especially the younger men, have not welcomed the recruits to their ranks from America. It is common knowledge that, with few exceptions, Swedish-American pastors who have returned to Sweden, whether to enter the state church or to pay a visit, have left unfavorable impressions. In part the difficulty is due to a misunderstanding of American conditions. The Swedish-American ministers preach without manuscript and use a style of delivery foreign to the pulpit in Sweden, and some have borne the formidable title of "doctor." In Sweden it is assumed that a "doctor" is a man of erudition who has spent several years in research and has one or more ponderous and scholarly books to his credit. The academic man in Sweden has difficulty in understanding that in America certain titles that have academic connotation in Europe have no relation whatever to scholarship and are conferred for reasons best known to those who pass them out so generously and indiscriminately. Down to 1890 a "doctor" was rare in the Augustana Synod, a circumstance attributed by the president to the fact that the Swedish Lutherans were "not sick enough to need many doctors." But after 1900 the epidemic known as "title sickness" broke out virulently, and the boards of directors of the educational institutions have supplied many honorary degrees to fill the aching void in the ministerial ego, in some cases resorting to the extreme of conferring honorary Ph. D. degrees. And a few pastors, unable to bide their time for the soothing degree to be applied by one of their own institutions, have gone to the expense of "purchasing" it from institutions calling themselves "universities."[41]

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[39] C. F. Sandahl, in *Augustana,* October 6, 1904.

[40] Jules Mauritzson, in *Augustana,* November 6, 1902; L. G. Abrahamson, in *Augustana,* September 19, 1901. See editorials in *Augustana,* August 26, December 2, 1897. When L. G. Abrahamson succeeded S. P. A. Lindahl as editor of *Augustana* some twenty years ago, the tone of the editorials on the Church of Sweden became more friendly. Abrahamson visited Sweden several times, received royal decorations, and was in close touch with Schéele and Söderblom.

It is evident that under the wise leadership of the distinguished Archbishop Söderblom the Church of Sweden is cultivating the friendship and cooperation of the Augustana Synod and that the situation that prevailed during the nineteenth century, when the synod was confronted with problems now nonexistent, has been reversed. But the overtures came at least a generation too late. The virtual cessation of emigration from Sweden, as well as the indifference of the recent immigrants toward religion, has removed the synod's fear of proselyting on the part of the Episcopal church. Moreover, the synod is rapidly losing its identity, which has been based on the use of the Swedish language, and is seeking to recruit members from all elements in the population. The descendants of the Swedish pioneers are immune to any form of Swedish propaganda. Even some pastors are anxious to disclaim their origin and are disturbed when a Swedish word is spoken in their churches lest it might reveal the rock from which they were hewn. The official Swedish language organ of the synod has, at the most, twenty years to live.[42] The colleges and other institutions are rapidly becoming regional, more and more dependent upon the support of the people of the country immediately surrounding. The pendulum is swinging back to the years previous to the organization of the Augustana Synod, when Esbjörn and Hasselquist were anxious to clear their churches of charges that they were replicas of the parish churches of Sweden.

[41] The better minds in the synod were disturbed by this practice, which was much criticized; it was condemned in the church press.

[42] See page 350 for figures that show increase of the English language published by the synod.

For a half century the old church was cold to friendly overtures from the Augustana Synod. With the turn of the century, when the Church of Sweden had become a mere shadow of its former greatness and the Augustana Synod was on the threshold of a new era, the old church passed from indifference to friendliness. With the steady retreat of the Swedish language—turned into a rout by the World War—the Augustana Synod stands as a Swedish church in origin, but as an American organization in polity, spirit, and outlook. Destiny has worn a groove so firm and deep that the opinions and influence of individuals can do little more than to swerve the moving body slightly to this side or the other.

CHAPTER XVII

THE BAPTISTS

IN A previous chapter we have seen that the beginnings of the Baptist church in Sweden and among the Swedes in the United States were simultaneous and that the two movements were closely bound together. The first congregation in the Old Country dates from 1848, and the first American congregation was organized by Gustaf Palmquist at Rock Island on August 13, 1852. The first three Baptist preachers in America — Palmquist, Wiberg, and Nilsson — were pioneers in both countries and were financed largely by the American church. It appears that in the beginning the leaders were of the opinion that New York City would be the most fertile recruiting ground, and accordingly colporteurs were engaged to work among the arriving immigrants and seamen; but the drift of immigration was obviously toward the Mississippi Valley; in this region the first congregations were organized in the fifties, and it soon became the stronghold of the Swedish Baptist church.[1] In 1860 the Baptist "sphere of influence" was the northwestern corner of Illinois, southeastern Minnesota, and all of Iowa with the exception of the western strip; the Baptists numbered, in all, about 400 members, divided into 11 congregations. At the close of the second decade the sect had pushed eastward, northward, and westward, and penetrated into Nebraska. It comprised about 1,500 members, distributed among 34 congregations. At the end of the first half century 320 congregations had been organized with a membership of about 22,000, distributed from Maine to California, Washington, and Oregon. The northern Mississippi Valley had a greater number than any other section, and Minnesota more than any other single state. By that time there were sixteen conferences. About the same time the Augustana Synod included 888 congregations and 118,149 communicant members.

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[1] Maps showing the distribution of congregations at different periods are given in Frank Peterson, *Femtio år. En återblick, 1852–1902,* Minneapolis, 1902.

Although the Swedish Baptists had the aid and support of the American brethren in the faith, they labored under a heavy disadvantage in competition with the Augustana Synod. While it is true that among the immigrants a number had been immersed in Sweden, they were too few to augment the Baptist congregations to the extent that the Lutheran immigrants augmented the Augustana Synod. The Baptist missionaries not only had to convince their countrymen that membership in a church was necessary but they had also to prove to them that the Baptist doctrine was true to the Word of God and that the Lutheran was not. In other words, there were many more potential Lutherans than potential Baptists among the immigrants.

Just as the Lutherans were fortunate in having such able men as Esbjörn, Hasselquist, and Carlsson, so were the Baptists fortunate in having Palmquist, Wiberg, and Edgren. Except for the brief career of *Frihetswännen,* however, there was no Swedish Baptist paper until *Zions Väktare* was established in 1870, whereas *Hemlandet* began in 1855 and *Det Rätta Hemlandet* in the year following. In the year that *Zions Väktare* was first published, a paper was started at Omaha by Theodore Hessell under the name *Skandinavisk Härold.*[2] Although Hessell did not have the confidence of his brother pastors, who felt that a man of his uncertain views was incompetent to handle religious topics, his paper was at first popular in Minnesota. He led an unusual and varied life both in Sweden and in the United States, and in his closing years reminds one of Nilsson. He became more or less rationalistic in his thinking and wrote caustically about religion and especially the Baptist doctrine. Doctrinal divergence within their own ranks, as a matter of fact, was on more than one occasion a handicap to the Baptists, as the letters of Palmquist, Wiberg, Nilsson, and Edgren bear witness. Moreover, the feeling between the American and the Swedish Baptists was not always the best.

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[2] *Skandinavisk Härold* was published at Omaha and Fremont from December 1, 1870, to December 31, 1871. It was a strong temperance paper and published a number of letters from leaders in Baptist congregations. From 1878 to 1880 Hessell was editor and publisher of *Evangeliskt Magazine* at Council Bluffs, Iowa. For an appraisal of Hessell's character see J. A. Edgren to Wiberg, February 13, July 27, 1871 (MSS in Bethel Seminary, Stockholm), and Theodore Hessell, *Farbror Slokums memoarer.*

Edgren reported to Wiberg in 1871 that the Americans disliked having the Swedes form isolated congregations and would have preferred to incorporate the immigrants into American church groups. For this reason it was difficult to obtain financial assistance. Moreover, the contentiousness of the Swedes was objectionable to the brethren in other congregations.[3]

Perhaps the most serious problem confronting the foreign-language church was that of securing competent and well-educated ministers. The Swedish Lutherans attempted to solve it by the establishment of a Scandinavian professorship at Illinois State University and later, after the organization of the Augustana Synod, of an independent seminary. But until well along in the seventies their educational system was crude and inefficient and was crippled by lack of funds and of competent men on the faculty. Their efforts to secure pastors from Sweden were not fruitful. The difficulties of the Baptists, Methodists, and Mission Friends were even greater. After the founding of Bethel Seminary in Stockholm in 1866, a number of men were trained for service in America under Broady and other teachers who had studied at Madison University. This fact may explain partially why it was that the Baptist church clung to the Swedish language longer than did the churches of the Augustana Synod. Some of the Baptist pastors from Sweden were no more satisfactory, however, than the Lutherans from the same source. They had been compelled to leave the free churches in Sweden for one cause or another. Many of the early Baptist leaders had been sailors who, after being converted in the United States, had begun preaching without further theological study. Among this group were G. W. Schröder, F. O. Nilsson, Sven Kristian Nilsson, Bernt N. Nilsson, Carl Möllerswärd, John Alexander Edgren, and R. E. Jeansson.[4] This situation, of course, made for "loose" preaching and doctrinal divergence.

One of the first students in America, if not the first, was Andrew Norelius, who enrolled in a Baptist institution at Burlington, Iowa, in 1855. His education in the rudiments was meager, and he was so poor that he was compelled to work at his trade and even to accept a suit of clothes from philanthropic women in the East, to whom he had sent his measurements.[5]

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[3] Edgren to Wiberg, July 27, 1871.

[4] Byström, *En frikyrklig banbrytare,* 171–173.

The founder of the educational work among the Swedish Baptists was John Alexander Edgren, who came to the United States in 1862. After a period of service in the federal navy, he became a colporteur and missionary under the auspices of the Baptist Publication Society, and in the fall of 1865 he enrolled at Madison University. In 1866 he returned in the company of Wiberg and Truvé to Sweden, where he taught in Bethel Seminary until 1870. In the latter year he left his native land for the second time to become pastor of the church in Chicago. Shortly afterward he announced in the columns of his paper, *Zions Väktare,* the proposed opening of a theological seminary in 1871.[6] He planned to locate his institution in the basement of his church, but this edifice was destroyed in the Chicago fire before the opening of the school year. Fortunately the Baptist Union Theological Seminary invited him to make use of its facilities, and from 1871 to 1884 the school operated as a separate Scandinavian department of that institution. The first years were crowded with discouragements. Students were few and money was scarce. For several months, sometimes, Edgren would receive no salary. In addition to serving as president and teaching practically every subject in the curriculum, he studied Hebrew and Greek in the regular seminary classes, attended to the duties of pastor of his congregation, edited periodicals, and wrote a number of books.[7]

The Baptist educational institutions have been as migratory as those of the other Swedish-American churches. In 1877 the Union Theological Seminary moved from Chicago to Morgan Park, a suburb of the Illinois metropolis, and the Scandinavian department followed. Although the seminary was financed for the most part by the American Baptists, Edgren was not happy in his associations with this institution. Doctrinally he was at variance with his colleagues, and his sharp criticisms of the predilections of the American brethren, including the ministers, for secret societies branded him as unorthodox and un-American. His removal was even hinted at. When his resignation was handed to the seminary board in the summer of 1884, Edgren had come to no conclusion in regard either to the location or the financial support of a new, independent seminary, although in the spring he had toured the western states to determine what would be the prospects of such an institution. St. Paul was the location finally chosen, and the outlook for a successful career seemed to be good; but offers of land and money from the citizens and town of Stromsburg, Nebraska, proved too tempting, and in 1885, after a sojourn of one year in Minnesota, the institution moved, bag and baggage, to the small optimistic community further west. For reasons not entirely clear, the school returned to Morgan Park in the fall of 1888 as a department of Union Theological Seminary. In the meantime Edgren's health had broken down under the strenuous demands on his physical and mental powers, and in 1887 he resigned the presidency to spend the evening of life in California, where his pen continued to produce books and pamphlets of theology and exegesis.

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[5] Norelius to Wiberg, May 12, June 2, 1855; G. A. Johnson to Wiberg, May 1, 1855 (MSS).

[6] Edgren, *Minnen från hafvet, kriget och missionsfältet,* 100–110. For a brief history of Baptist educational activity see Adolf Olson, "Educational Work among the Swedish Baptists of America," *Yearbook of the Swedish Historical Society,* 1926, pp. 125–140.

[7] Edgren to Wiberg, January 27, 1872, July 6, 1874, October 21, 1875; report of J. A. Edgren to the board of the Baptist Union Theological Seminary, 1876, in Bethel Seminary, Stockholm.

In 1889, after an interim of two years, Carl G. Lagergren became Edgren's successor. Lagergren had been a prominent man in Sweden, one who had had the advantage of training at Uppsala University. He had been in close touch with Wiberg and had often been a guest in his home in Stockholm. In 1875 he succeeded the latter as editor of *Evangelisten,* a position he filled until 1883, when he transferred his field of pastoral activity from Uppsala to Sundsvall. He was very influential in the temperance movement. Strangely enough, up to the time he received the call to the Baptist Seminary in America, he had opposed emigration and had attacked his co-religionist G. W. Schröder, who was in Sweden as an emigration agent. But in 1888, after the fire that laid the city of Sundsvall in ashes, he went to the " dollar land " and from 1889 to 1922 served the seminary, first as dean and later as president. His scholarly training at Uppsala made this man of conservative and orthodox views a power in Baptist circles. His educational ideals were high, but he naturally found difficulty in holding to them, since his theological students were seldom beyond the high school stage.

In the course of the thirty years that Lagergren and Frank Peterson were the most prominent Swedish Baptist leaders, they were often in disagreement on fundamental policies. Lagergren came to the United States in the fullness of maturity and hewed close to the Swedish line, whereas Peterson spoke excellent English and was far more American than Swedish. He favored hearty cooperation with the American branch of the church and encouraged the use of English in church work.[8] Peterson grew up with the Swedish-American Baptist church, having been an eyewitness to the baptism of his parents by Gustaf Palmquist in the Mississippi River at Rock Island. He was born in Jönköpings *län* on November 19, 1847, came to the United States in 1851, and was ordained in 1875. During practically the entire period of his ministry he served congregations in Minnesota and occupied responsible positions in the church.

During Lagergren's tenure of office great changes occurred in the seminary. When in 1892 the old Chicago University was rejuvenated as the University of Chicago under the presidency of William Rainey Harper, the Union Theological Seminary became a department of the university. The Swedish seminary, however, remained at Morgan Park. The university paid the salary of the dean and one teacher and the expenses of maintaining the physical plant. After the death of Dr. Harper in 1906 and the passing of the older generation, the university lost interest in the Swedish institution and in 1914 cut off financial aid, much to the regret of Lagergren, who understood the advantages of being a part of a great university.

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[8] C. G. Lagergren, *Efter sjuttio år,* St. Paul, 1922; Peterson, *Femtio år;* C. G. Lagergren, *Från strids- och arbetsfältet. Minnen och iakttagelser från en sextiofemårig verksamhet (1862–1927). Ett blad ur svenska baptisternas historia,* Minneapolis, 1927, pp. 288 ff. Dr. Lagergren has collected and bound in a single volume a considerable number of articles and tracts from his pen, which the author has had the pleasure of perusing. Of special interest is *Nytt och Gammalt,* Chicago, 1894, a refutation of the Waldenströmian doctrine of the atonement.

At this time the membership of the Swedish Baptist congregations numbered about thirty thousand, and the feeling had arisen that the Swedes, who were entirely able to support their own seminary, would do well to sever connections with an institution that had a widespread reputation for heterodoxy. The Swedes, almost to a man, belonged to the group of militant "fundamentalists" in the Baptist camp, among whom Frank Peterson was conspicuous. Lagergren's orthodoxy was unquestioned, but he seemed to have had no fear for the safety of "pure doctrine" among the Swedish students, even though the seminary was affiliated with a university notable for its interest in the higher criticism.

After the termination of the affiliation with the University of Chicago, the seminary was not so homeless as it had been after Edgren's resignation in 1884. It had the privilege of remaining in its old quarters by paying a nominal rental to the university, a proposition that appealed strongly to Lagergren; but the General Conference decided otherwise, and the seminary was transferred to St. Paul, where it was united with Bethel Academy, an institution founded in 1905, which had been located in the Elim Swedish Baptist Church of Minneapolis before moving to permanent quarters in St. Paul in 1907. Lagergren remained dean of the seminary, but the united institution was under the presidency of G. Arvid Hagstrom.

An ill-fated experiment in Swedish Baptist education, undertaken by individuals, however, rather than by the Baptist church, was that of Adelphia College, founded in 1905 in Seattle, Washington. The college was fortunate in having as its president a scholarly man, Emmanuel Schmidt, but the World War and financial depression forced the abandonment of the project in 1918. The property of the institution was acquired by the Jesuits.

The educational projects of the Swedish Baptists have histories similar to those of other denominations. Uncertainty as to the location of institutions, rivalry between geographical areas, and inadequacy of funds created problems for them all. The Baptists, Methodists, and Mission Friends have confined themselves to secondary education and theological instruction, however, whereas the Lutherans have established colleges and one theological seminary, in addition to several academies that serve as "feeders."[9]

The number of Swedes in the United States before the Civil War was of course insignificant in comparison with the number that came in the decade following it. In spite of the fact that religion as a cause for emigration played a rather significant rôle in the earliest years, the scattered Swedish population and the poverty of the settlements made missionary work exceedingly difficult. Gustaf Palmquist, after organizing the Rock Island congregation, on August 13, 1852, made that city his headquarters for a time, although he traveled extensively and in a sense was the pastor of the entire Swedish Baptist flock. It was not until February, 1853, that the Baptist Home Mission Society came to his support with a stipend of two hundred dollars. He was joined by Wiberg in June, 1852, who in the following year made an extensive tour of the West, and by F. O. Nilsson in June, 1853. When Nilsson and his little party arrived at New York, they were cared for by the members of the Baptist Mariners' Church and advised by Wiberg to continue their journey to Rock Island. Except for a few months spent in New York, Palmquist accomplished all his work in the Middle West and in Illinois. In the latter he broke new ground for his church. Nilsson did his greatest work in Minnesota. Palmquist, Wiberg, and Nilsson, meanwhile, were exhorting the Baptist Publication Society to finance the work in the several areas.[10]

In 1854, after having worked for a time in southeastern Iowa, Nilsson went to Minnesota. He had visited that territory and was much impressed with the quality of the land and the prospects for a considerable Swedish population. He wrote to Wiberg, who was then in the East, that he was safe in advising immigrants to steer their course to the new territory.[11] But the project developed slowly, and by the close of 1859, at which time Nilsson was back in Rock Island, there were barely half a dozen congregations in Minnesota, with a total membership of less than one hundred.[12]

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[9] In accordance with the decision of the Baptist Conference in 1930, Bethel Academy became a junior college at the opening of the academic year in 1931.

[10] There are several letters to this effect in the archives of Bethel Seminary, Stockholm.

[11] Letters dated July 20, 1854, April 20, 1855.

In spite of the great distances that separated their congregations, the Swedish Baptists originally dreamed of including all of them within one conference. Accordingly, the first meeting of the Swedish Baptist Conference was held at Rock Island from June 20 to 25, 1856, with Gustaf Palmquist as presiding officer.[13] Sectionalism soon asserted itself, however, and in September, 1858, the four Swedish congregations in Minnesota organized themselves into a state conference, although delegates from Minnesota continued to attend the general conference. It was not until 1879 that the plans for a general conference embracing the entire country were realized. The large degree of autonomy enjoyed by the individual Baptist congregations brought the Swedish Baptist congregations into rather close touch with the American congregations in the same district, so that the Swedish brethren were members of the general and state conferences, both nationalistic organizations, and the geographic associations. This was both fortunate and unfortunate: fortunate in that the Swedes obtained financial aid and the appointment of state missionaries through the cooperation of the Home Mission Board, and unfortunate because of nationalistic differences and misunderstandings. Since 1879 the Swedish Baptist congregations have been an organic part of the American Baptist church, but the Swedish conferences have been united in the Swedish Baptist General Conference, which meets annually for the facilitation of missionary work, Sunday school work, and the publication and distribution of literature.[14]

The Swedish Baptists have their own hymnal, publications, and press. *Zions Väktare,* which went to an early death, was succeeded in January, 1874, by *Zions Vakt,* and it in turn yielded to *Facklan,* founded in St. Paul in 1876 but soon forced by hard times to discontinue. Edgren began to publish *Evangelisk Tidskrift* at Chicago in 1877 under the auspices of the Swedish Publication Society. This paper, renamed *Nya Vecko Posten* in 1884, was consolidated in 1918 with *Standaret,* a sheet that began its career in 1911. The consolidated paper took the name *Svenska Standaret.*

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[12] For considerable data on the Baptist organization, the author is indebted to a doctoral dissertation by J. Olson Anders, "The Early History of Swedish Religious Organizations in Minnesota," 1930, in the University of Minnesota Library. The content of the thesis is wider in scope than the title indicates.

[13] The manuscript *Protokolls* of the Swedish Baptist Conference, 1856–1878 (with the years 1861 and 1862 missing), are in the possession of Dr. Lagergren. Through his courtesy the writer has had the privilege of examining them. Brief summaries are printed in Lagergren, *Efter sjuttio år.*

[14] Frank Peterson, "Historical Review of the Scandinavian Baptists in the United States and in the North," in O. N. Nelson, *History of the Scandinavians and Successful Scandinavians in the United States,* Minneapolis, 1893, pp. 197–203.

Next to the Mission Covenant, the Baptist church has been the strongest competitor of the Augustana Synod, and, like the Mission Covenant, has retained the Swedish language more successfully than the Lutheran body. This is a matter of self-protection, for when a Swedish Baptist congregation becomes Anglicized, there is no longer any reason for its existence. The Augustana Synod, on the other hand, has in all respects functioned independently of other Lutheran synods, except that it has chosen to cooperate in certain common enterprises. Its churches in which English was used, or the individual members thereof, have had no special reason for joining other synods, although it must be said that in the early years there was reason for dissatisfaction with the synod for its reluctance to carry on its activities through the medium of the language of the country. At all events, it is a curious paradox that the Baptist congregations sing English hymns in the language of Sweden, whereas the congregations of the Augustana Synod sing the heavy chorals of the Church of Sweden in the language of the United States. The interchange of pastors between Sweden and America up to the present time is an additional factor tending to keep the Swedish Baptists in closer touch than the Lutherans with the land of their fathers.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE METHODISTS

THE organization of the first Swedish Methodist congregation in the United States antedates that of the Lutheran by four years and that of the Baptist by six; but the development of the Swedish Methodist church as a well-organized and independent body lagged behind the other two organizations. In part this is explained by the character of the Methodist church, which is hierarchal, as contrasted with the Lutheran and Baptist churches, which are congregational and presbyterian. The central government of Methodism is vested in the bishops and the General Conference. Subordinate to this are the annual conferences, comprising geographical areas, and these in turn are cut up into districts under a presiding elder. Throughout the first three decades of their history the Swedish congregations formed an organic part of the American Methodist church and concealed whatever individuality they had under the term "Scandinavian," which embraced Swedes, Norwegians, and Danes. Whatever spirit of unity and cooperation the Scandinavians may occasionally have manifested is certainly insufficient to constitute a chapter in church history. The gospel message of the brotherhood of man was not powerful enough to erase rivalries and national characteristics glossed over by the designation "Scandinavian," whether in the Lutheran, Baptist, or Methodist households of faith. The American brethren never understood this, and numerous opportunities were lost as a result.

Lutheran writers have found the explanation of the rather meager number of Methodists in Sweden and in Swedish-America to lie in the opposition of the Swedes to revivals; but the success of the hyperevangelical Mission Friends, Holy Pentecostal adherents, and Seventh-day Adventists among the Swedes rather points to the contrary.[1] The reason is to be sought in the institutional character of Methodism, which runs counter to the individualistic temper of the Swede. There are other implications of Methodism, a thoroughly American form of worship, that did not appeal to the Swedish immigrants, in spite of the fact that in most cases they furnished feeble resistance to the process of Americanization. In the years when Swedish immigration was a heavy, constant stream, Methodism made its appeal to the pietistic and puritanical, men poor in the goods of this world and weighed down by the burdens loaded upon them on their difficult journey. The Swedish pilgrim had hardships like those of his American brother, but pietism in Sweden could never join with Freemasonry or any other kind of secret society. Even the Swedish Methodists were never "joiners" like their American brethren. Replying to the sharp words of a Swedish Lutheran contemporary, William Henschen, editor of *Sändebudet,* the Swedish Methodist organ, advised his readers to have as little as possible to do with secret societies, because they brought Christians into fellowship with the ungodly. He believed that the Swedish Methodists should refuse to ordain a pastor who belonged to a secret order.[2]

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[1] S. M. Hill, "Hvad är orsaken?" *Luthersk Kvartalsskrift,* January, 1888, pp. 46–47.

The Methodists, Baptists, and Mission Friends had in common their condemnation of the "mechanical" way in which the Lutherans obtained members through immigration and confirmation, without "conversion." These sects also criticized the Augustana pastors for their aloofness toward other Christians. The Lutherans took no part in union revival meetings and frequently discouraged their members from signing temperance pledges — not because they were opposed to temperance, however, but because they did not believe that the proper method of making individuals temperate. Moreover, the Augustana pastors enjoyed the pleasures of the pipe and the snuff box — sinful indulgences, according to the Methodists.[3] The Methodist position on these matters was too extreme to appeal to the Swedes. Although it was not a part of the Methodist doctrine, some Methodist pastors preached perfectionism, a concept leagues removed from the belief in the total depravity of human nature. The latter doctrine, of course, was taught in Luther's Smaller Catechism, a book that confirmands in the Church of Sweden memorized.

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[2] *Sändebudet,* July 18, 1881, in reply to *Augustana och Missionären.*

[3] O. G. Hedström to Hasselquist, in *Hemlandet,* January 24, 1856; J. H. Ekstrand, in *Sändebudet,* January 14, May 6, 1878; Axel A——n, in *Sändebudet,* April 15, 1878; "Folo," in *Sändebudet,* April 26, 1879; *Sändebudet,* June 16, 1879.

The early Methodist pastors were perhaps on the whole inferior to the Lutheran in education, since religious experience and power of exhortation appear to have been regarded as more important than formal education; yet the Lutheran pastors also were recruited from the ranks of the tillers of the soil and manual laborers, whose limited education had been obtained during a few weeks or months of apprenticeship under Hasselquist or Carlsson. The Methodists — Victor Witting, Sven Bernhard Newman, Erik Shogren, Peter Challman, and O. G. Hedström, for instance — were certainly not inferior in scholarship and ability to Lutherans like Håkan Olson, M. F. Håkanson, P. A. Cederstam, Anders W. Dahlsten, and others that might be mentioned. William Henschen, for many years editor of *Sändebudet,* was an Uppsala product of scholarly attainments and interests, able to hold his own with Hasselquist and other editors of the Lutheran faith.[4] With the consecrated and indefatigable O. G. Hedström meeting the incoming immigrants at New York, the Methodists had a great advantage over the Lutherans; and in many communities Methodist preachers were in advance of other missionaries. When S. P. A. Lindahl, who served as editor of *Augustana* for many years, landed at New York in 1865, Hedström told the members of his party that the Methodist church was the only ecclesiastical organization that had standing in the United States. He added that if they hoped for recognition and prosperity in the adopted country, they ought to join that church, as the Lutheran church was not considered truly Christian. Lindahl admitted that there was some truth in the statement, but the Småland *läsare* failed to appreciate it.[5]

In 1920 the Swedish Methodist church had a membership of about twenty-one thousand and about two hundred pastors. Swedish Methodist writers attribute these meager figures to the unfortunate reliance on American assistance and the failure

[4] C. G. Wallenius, "Doctor William Henschen," *Swedish-American Historical Bulletin,* March, 1928, pp. 63–75.

[5] *Augustana,* July 7, 1898.

of their branch to obtain independent status.[6] There is perhaps some truth in this contention, but it would be just as truthful to say conversely that this dependent status and reliance on American aid has continued because of the failure of the church to grow numerically.

After 1862 the Swedes had their own organ in *Sändebudet,* which was on the whole well edited, and after 1870 their own theological seminary. In 1860 the General Conference adopted a resolution referring the matter of publishing a Scandinavian paper to the consideration of the agents at Cincinnati. Their approval was secured, and the paper was published at Rockford until October, 1864, when it was transferred to Chicago. It became a Swedish paper, however, much to the disappointment of the Norwegians and Danes, who were thus antagonized rather than conciliated. Other publications have served the Swedish Methodists in various parts of the country. In the beginning the Church Book of the Church of Sweden, supplemented by songs by Rutström, Ahnfelt, and others, was used, but after a few years this was displaced by a collection of songs compiled by Victor Witting. In 1860 appeared a hymnal compiled by Jacob Bredberg, a man who soon afterward went over to the Episcopalians.[7] This hymnal and the revised version of it adopted in 1884 were used until 1904, when a new book appeared.

The Methodist educational institution has been as ambulatory as those of the other Swedish denominations, and its path has been just as thorny. In 1866, on the occasion of the celebration of the Methodist centenary at Chicago, it was decided by the Scandinavians to set up a school to train ministers. A Scandinavian seminary, however, proved unsatisfactory to everybody concerned. Dissension arose, the fund was divided, and the final result was the establishment of a Swedish academy and seminary.[8]

The doors of the seminary were not opened to students until

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[6] C. G. Wallenius, in *Svenskarna i Amerika* (Hildebrand and Fredenholm, editors), Stockholm, 1924, 2: 143.

[7] "A. E.," "Den nya psalmboken," *Vinterrosor,* Chicago, 1905, pp. 115–118.

[8] Erikson, *Metodismen i Sverige,* 39–40; Albert Ericson, "Det svenska teologiska seminariet i Evanston, Illinois," *Vinterrosor,* 1903, pp. 56–62; *Sändebudet,* March 25, 1878.

1870, when two students and one teacher met in the upper story of a private home in Galesburg. In the fall of 1872 it moved to Galva, Illinois, and in 1875 took up its abode in Evanston, upon the invitation of Northwestern University. The university could not fulfill its promise of classrooms and the partial support of a teacher on account of the precarious state of its finances following the panic of 1873. The students rented two rooms in the home of William Henschen, the president, who resided in Chicago; and thus for a time Chicago claimed the institution. Every September the school board decided upon the location for the ensuing year. This peculiar arrangement continued until 1881, when the " school question " came to a head. By that time Northwestern University, having weathered the financial depression, had offered the seminary a lease of ninety-nine years on its property, and in addition certain individuals had promised to donate funds for the erection of a building. The whole arrangement was attractive and the Swedish Conference accepted it.[9]

The discussion revealed some interesting points of view. The intensely Swedish element feared the "American influence "; they believed that the seminary would serve the church best in a country town and ridiculed the idea that preachers educated partly in American colleges would have a better preparation than those educated in a large city. Some favored retracing the steps to Galva, while others believed the institution should follow the trend of immigration and locate across the Mississippi River, preferably in Iowa. One pastor, although he believed that the campus of Hamline University in St. Paul would be the most suitable location, favored a compromise on Evanston because he knew of the " horror " of the older Swedes for Minnesota. In reply to the contention of those who shrank from the idea of exposing their young men to the conditions prevailing in American colleges, he cited the alleged fact that the moral atmosphere in these institutions was vastly superior to that of Uppsala University.

For a number of years Henschen was president of Wesley Academy and Seminary, and he taught most of the classes until 1889. At that time he was succeeded by Carl G. Wallenius. Except for a brief interval Wallenius has remained at the post until the present time, the close of the academic year 1930–31. The present arrangement has not been an entirely happy one. Modernism has taken a strong hold on Methodism, and the Swedish pastors — almost to a man fundamentalists — have deplored the liberal spirit of Garrett Biblical Institute. On the other hand, a considerable number of Swedish pastors have not been loyal to Wesley Seminary, partly because it has been a financial burden and partly because the retirement pension of ministers in the American church is double that allotted to the Swedish ministers. Moreover, there has been an element in the church that has frowned upon the continuation of the Swedish language and the segregation of Swedish congregations. During the war-time hysteria it appeared that this pro-American element might triumph. If it had done so, it is entirely possible that several thousand Swedes would have gone into the Augustana Synod or the Mission Covenant; it may be noted that at the time when the controversy was hottest between the Augustana Synod and the Mission Friends over the Waldenströmian doctrine of the atonement, it appears that the Methodists were inclined to take the part of the former.[10] It should also be mentioned in this connection that the frequent transfer of Methodist pastors from congregation to congregation was deemed unnecessary and unwise by certain Swedish pastors, who argued that Methodists ought to stay in a congregation as long as pastors in other churches.[11]

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[9] *Sändebudet* for 1881 published a series of communications and editorials on the educational problem. The following may be cited: C. G. Nelson, August 1, 8; H. Olson, August 15; Andrew G. Johnson, August 22, 29, September 19.

From 1911 to 1931 the Swedish Methodists in Texas owned and controlled Texas Wesleyan College at Austin. The energetic and optimistic district superintendent, O. E. Olander, believed that the cotton farmers from Småland, despite their numerical weakness, were able and willing to support an educational institution, and a combination of fortuitous circumstances and business acumen made Olander's dream a reality. Situated in proximity to the University of Texas, it recruited its faculty from among the students on that campus, who served on a part-time basis for small salaries.[12] Trinity College at Round Rock of the Texas Conference of the Augustana Synod closed its doors in 1929, and in 1931, following the sale of its property to the University of Texas, the Swedish Methodist Academy met a similar fate; thus Wesley Academy at Evanston was left the sole educational institution of the Swedish Methodist church.

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[10] "Folo," in *Sändebudet,* May 26, 1879.

[11] N. O. Westergreen, in *Sändebudet,* October 24, 1876.

During the decade of the seventies the Swedish Methodists, in common with the other sects, made much more rapid gains than in preceding years; and with their growing numbers agitation increased for the organization of a conference to include all the Swedish congregations in the United States, which had hitherto been included with American congregations in district conferences. It was argued that a separate Swedish conference would stimulate the Swedes to greater activity, give them greater influence and notice in the church as a whole, assure them of representation in the General Conference, and afford opportunity to discuss problems peculiar to themselves.[13] Congregations situated in remote localities might remain in the district conferences. Accordingly, in response to petitions from Swedish pastors in Illinois and Iowa, the General Conference gave permission to organize a separate body, which took the name Northwestern Swedish Methodist Conference at its first meeting at Galesburg in September, 1877. In 1893 this dissolved and divided into Central, Northern, and Western conferences, but in 1928 it was united again into the Central Northwest Swedish Methodist Conference.[14]

It is ironical that although religion both in Sweden and in Swedish-America was deeply indebted to the great exponent of Methodism, George Scott, yet Methodism as an ecclesiastical entity lagged behind the Baptists and Mission Friends. Some reasons for this have already been suggested. In spite of the proverbial strain of jealousy in the Swedish nature, it appears that the equally proverbial reticence and *tillbaka-*

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[12] C. G. Wallenius, "Texas Wesleyan College och några ord om dess grundläggare," *Sändebudet,* September 27, 1928.

[13] *Sändebudet* (Henschen, editor), January 25, 1876.

[14] The proceedings of the conferences are found in Wesley Seminary. In writing this chapter the author has profited by conversations with Dr. C. G. Wallenius, the president.

dragenhet impedes cooperation with other nationalities. The Mission Friends, with the exception of a brief period during which they were affiliated synodically with an American body and animated by a unionistic spirit, have been remarkably successful in maintaining their identity, and the Lutherans pulled away from the General Synod in 1860. The Baptists and Methodists perhaps would have done better if they had been brave enough to go their own way and had competed with the Augustana Synod as self-supporting Swedish churches. After all, it was an exceptional Swedish immigrant who felt as much at home with Americans as with the people of his own blood and language. The average immigrant perhaps looked up to the Americans and gave vent to bitter words about his native land and about his countrymen, but it was just this racial inferiority complex that showed him to be inalienably Swedish. The third generation, of course, has its own story, the lessons of which the Augustana Synod is slowly learning.

CHAPTER XIX

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE MISSION FRIENDS

AMONG the Swedish immigrants there was a strong element who found the Augustana Synod and the Baptist and Methodist churches too institutional to attract them. They were the true disciples of the Rosenian revival, the free spirits, the hyperevangelicals overpowered by the spirit of the Lord. This leaven was imported into America with the horde that taxed the capacity of emigrant ships from 1867 to 1869, the painful years of the great famine in Småland and the great years of the revival and of the Jönköping prophets who went out from the Jerusalem of the *läsare*. Many of these immigrants had taken active part in this remarkable movement and had imbibed the spirit of the great lay preacher Rosenius; and because of the treatment they had received from the state church had conceived a dislike for all ministers and church forms. To the day of his death in 1868, Rosenius remained loyal to the Lutheran faith and advised his followers to remain within the bosom of the old church to breathe into it the life of the spirit; his followers, nevertheless, although they saw in the Church of Sweden a historic institution with a great past and perhaps a great mission in the future, found their real haven in spontaneous gatherings in homes and chapels, at which they prayed and sang together under the leadership of colporteurs sent out by missionary societies. Moody's sermons and the songs of Lina Sandell, Ahnfelt, and Sankey buoyed up their hopes for a refuge of bliss and rest after a life of drudgery, misery, and sorrow. In *Pietisten,* tracts, and Sunday school papers they read about the wonderful land in the West, where there were showers of blessings. Dreams became realities with the arrival of glowing "America letters" accompanied by steamship tickets or money to purchase them.

The Augustana Synod has been called a " laymen's missionary movement," and such in a sense it was in its inception and early years. This is likewise true of the Methodist and Baptist churches. Institutionalism, however, soon got a start. We still contend that it is a historical fallacy to regard the Augustana Synod as the " daughter " of the Church of Sweden, but it is nevertheless true that the foundation of the synod was laid by men educated, ordained, and trained in the state church. They had left Sweden bitterly disillusioned about the possibility of a hierarchy working well in close alliance with the state, but their theological training and cast of mind asserted themselves when they were elevated to responsible positions and were called upon to withstand the proselyting of other faiths and establishments. The controversy between the Puritans and the Erastians is eternal. Ever since the Christian church was established there have been individuals who were impatient with organizations, rituals, and ceremonies, which they insisted befogged the minds of men and obscured the way of salvation.

The hyperevangelicals were surprised to find in a land of free churches that the Augustana Synod was so bound by man-made ordinances and forms. True disciples of Rosenius in holding fast to the fundamentals of Lutheranism, they accepted the Word of God as the supreme authority, transcending human writings and ordinances. They praised Luther and said that they were following his example by appealing to the Bible. In order to counteract the extreme statements of these free spirits, the Augustana Synod pastors went to extremes in emphasizing the authority of confessions and creeds. In the Augustana Synod papers the Rosenians found altogether too much attention given to " church," " congregation," " synod," and " conference " and not enough to " Christ the Redeemer." Men who had been colporteurs in Sweden led meetings and organized mission societies that they hoped would stand in the same relation to the Augustana Synod as similar societies had stood to the Church of Sweden, but they were too " free " to meet the approval of the Augustana Synod and were frowned upon. Hasselquist and his brother pastors condemned the " free churches " among the Swedes in America as dogmatically as parish pastors in Sweden condemned Rosenius and his colporteurs; and the free spirits gave vent to just as caustic words about the Augustana Synod as Hasselquist, upon exactly the same grounds, had used in criticizing the state church. By 1870 the Augustana Synod was exhibiting some of the high-church tendencies that had transformed the National Evangelical Foundation and lost for it the support of the nonconformists and eventually of the greatest leader, Waldenström. Some of the extremists spoke of communities where there were only Augustana Synod congregations as " fortresses of Satan."

The Mission Friends had a conception of the office of the ministry similar to that held in the apostolic age, when the Christians chose one among their number to break the bread of life. The " inner call " was far more important to them than the formal rite of ordination, especially when they remembered the ministerial garb that had clothed many an " unworthy " person in their native parishes. The Augustana pastors, " dressed in mourning," were painful reminders of the parish pastors who had denounced the colporteurs from their pulpits and threatened them with the consequences of the law. When the Augustana pastors emulated their example by condemning their activity in the new country, the Mission Friends denounced the " tyranny of the pastors." They even questioned the scriptural soundness of paying the pastor a salary. At their missionary meetings they discussed the concept of the church and of the congregation and the necessity of an education for a pastor. Citing Luther and Fjellstedt, they asserted their belief in the ministry of all believers and condemned the Augustana Synod for excluding laymen from the ministerium. They maintained that this organization was less Christian than the state church in that it had close communion, whereas the old church had allowed Methodists and Baptists to commune. They adopted the slogan, " Our pulpits for evangelical pastors and the Lord's table for the children of God," as against " Lutheran pulpits for Lutheran ministers and the Lutheran altar for Lutheran communicants." They held union services with

Methodists and Baptists, whereas the Augustana pastors held aloof from such fraternal gestures.

The Mission Friends were the extreme puritans among the Swedes, in everything that that designation implies. They held the old Anabaptist conception of the church, namely, that it was composed exclusively of " believers " and that the tares should be plucked before the harvest. Only " believers " who had been regenerated by the spirit were worthy of membership in the church. They looked with contempt upon ponderous tomes of dogma and theological lore. Of course, the theater, novel, card table, and dance hall were anathema to the Mission Friends, as they were in the Augustana Synod; but some of the former went further and banned choir singing and instrumental music from their churches. They were also given to much speculation about the second coming of Christ, listing the events of the era that foretold, as they thought, the end of the world.[1] At some of the revival meetings phenomena occurred that suggested the Småland " preaching sickness," and certain preachers performed antics not unlike those of Billy Sunday.[2] Down to about 1870 everything was spontaneous, much as it was with the early Christians. But the free spirits soon found that some form of organization was necessary, if only the ordination of pastors for the purpose of performing marriages.

The Mission Friend movement is fundamentally a result of the influx of hyperevangelicals at the close of the decade of the sixties, and thus has its roots in Sweden; but in one sense it has a more or less close connection with the events that transpired in the United States in 1860. Although the Swedish Lutheran congregations through their delegates at the convention of the United Scandinavian Conference voted unanimously in 1860 to secede from the Synod of Northern Illinois and to set up an independent synod, there was some opposition to this action in certain congregations. This dissatisfaction was especially noticeable in the Galesburg congregation, in which some of the members went so far as to charge that the secession was a secret conspiracy among the leaders.[3] In the summer of 1868 a number of persons left the Augustana congregation in Galesburg, organized a mission society, and soon cooperated with like-minded persons living in and around Altona and Wataga. Some members of these societies retained their membership in the Augustana Synod. Shortly afterward a mission district was organized and a call was extended to J. M. Sanngren, a colporteur from Småland, who had come to the United States in 1868 to serve as a traveling lay preacher at a salary of forty dollars a month. Meantime the Galesburg congregation had sent a representative to the November meeting of the Synod of Northern Illinois to ascertain the prospects of affiliating with that organization and, in the event of a favorable response, to request that Charles Anderson, a pastor of Danish birth in that synod, be asked to become the pastor. The result of the mission was that Anderson came to Galesburg and organized the congregation as a constituent member of the Synod of Northern Illinois under the name of the Second Evangelical Lutheran Congregation of Galesburg.[4]

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[1] The material in these paragraphs has been culled from *Zions Banér* (1871–1879) and *Chicago-Bladet* (1877–1879, 1884–1886). See especially *Zions Banér,* February, 1872, April, June, 1876, January 1, 1878; *Chicago-Bladet,* February 16, 1877, January 20, November 17, 1885; *Ungdomsvännen,* October 1, 1883, January 7, 1885; Nyvall, *Min faders testamente,* 310 ff.; C. V. Bowman, *Missionsvännerna i Amerika,* Minneapolis, 1907.

[2] Skogsbergh, *Minnen,* 142–144.

Similar events transpired in other Swedish communities, notably in Chicago and in Swede Bend, a settlement in Boone County, Iowa. In Chicago C. J. Lindahl, a brother of the S. P. A. Lindahl who became a leader in the Augustana Synod, was engaged as city missionary under the auspices of the Immanuel congregation. Misunderstanding arose between him and Erland Carlsson, the pastor, over the circulation of certain literature. Lindahl distributed copies of *Pietisten* and other Rosenian tracts of which Carlsson disapproved because of their free-church tendencies. Lindahl broke with his superior and gathered about himself a band of kindred souls, some of whom had already organized the Swedish Evangelical Missionary Association of Chicago in December, 1868, shortly before the arrival of Lindahl. It is worthy of notice that both Sanngren and Lindahl had originally been lay missionaries within the Augustana Synod.[5]

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[3] On this point see *Hemlandet,* June 18, July 6, August 8, 1860. The charge was made by Jonas Knutson and answered by Hasselquist, then pastor of the Galesburg congregation.

[4] Under the heading "Svenska missionsfältet i Amerika," *Zions Banér* (September 13–October 4, 1878) published a concise and accurate historical sketch of the beginnings of the Mission Friend movement. The writer was probably K. Erixon, who drew on information gathered from the pioneers. See also Bowman, *Missionsvännerna i Amerika,* 92–105.

In the Augustana fold at Swede Bend was a " Jönköping Christian " named Carl August Björk, a cobbler. He came to the community in 1864, and the first Sunday called a few people together in his home, read to them from *Pietisten,* and sang Ahnfelt's songs. Increasing numbers came to hear the " peculiar " cobbler, some out of curiosity and others for purposes of devotion. In the course of time Björk was delegated to read devotional literature at the regular Sunday worship in the absence of the pastor, whose duties often took him away to other communities. One Sunday morning the sexton purposely hid *Pietisten* in the hope that Björk would improvise a sermon of his own; he did so, and spoke so well that before the people left the church it was decided to ask him to preach rather than to read in the future. Björk's preaching did not meet with the approval of the pastor, who feared his " separatistic " tendencies and proceeded to deliver a series of lectures in which he expounded the " pure Lutheran doctrine " and branded Björk as a heretic. Thereupon the " believers " formed a mission society, on July 4, 1868, patterned after the Jönköping Missionary Society, with which some of them were familiar. As in similar situations, the Augustana pastors tried to repair the " rifts in the walls of Zion," but the schism grew wider and the congregation split.[6]

By 1868 the Mission Friend movement had gathered such momentum that President Hasselquist in his annual report to the Augustana Synod in June stated that never since the organization of its congregations had they been so encompassed by enemies.

> As is well known, the great spiritual awakening in the fatherland during the last years has not only borne much good fruit . . . but also, as is frequently the case, much unripe and bitter and poisonous fruit in the form of sects which violently attack the Lutheran

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[5] *Zions Banér,* November, 1872.

[6] Bowman, *Missionsvännerna i Amerika,* 32–41.

church because its loyalty to its confessions and order stands in their way. . . . Some of their leaders are reported as having their countrymen in America in mind and hope to find a more fertile soil in this land of freedom and sects.

The synod at this convention was called upon to consider a communication from the Galesburg congregation protesting the exclusion of their lay delegate from the ministerium, the wearing of the ministerial garb, and conformity to a liturgical service. In answer to the communication the synod justified the exclusion of laymen from the ministerium and deplored that a congregation should lay such great stress upon things that the synod considered *adiaphora.* While defending Christian freedom, the synod avowed that uniformity was desirable and that it could not countenance the discarding of forms and ceremonies inherited from the fathers.[7]

In his next annual report Hasselquist criticized Anderson, the pastor of the " separatist " congregation in Galesburg, who " under the auspices of the General Synod visits our congregations and settlements." " The un-Lutheran, not to say un-Christian, spirit of the General Synod," he said, " reveals itself in the hostility and proselyting in congregations which hold fast to the old doctrine."[8]

Anderson, although his mother tongue was Danish, spoke fluent Swedish and had become identified with Swedish church work. Having been brought to America in 1848 when five years old, he had had an American upbringing. He attended Illinois State University and served as chaplain in the Civil War, after which he became a pastor in the Synod of Northern Illinois. While serving as a member of the ministerium of that synod he was called to the pastorate of the " separatist " congregation at Galesburg. He was instrumental in obtaining financial assistance from the General Synod for mission work among the Swedes just at the time the Augustana Synod entered the General Council, a body formed by symbolical synods that had withdrawn from the General Synod.

Although Anderson was not a symbolist, he was a conservative Lutheran, as his obituary of S. S. Schmucker proves. He states that Schmucker was a learned and able man, but that he caused most of the troubles of the General Synod in consequence of his training at Princeton Theological Seminary, where he absorbed the reformed doctrine and point of view.[9] Being a Dane, Anderson naturally was not primarily interested in building up a Swedish synod and from the beginning planned to draw the Swedish congregations outside the Augustana Synod into the General Synod. As a means to this end he began the publication at Galesburg in July, 1871, of *Zions Banér,* a paper subsidized by the General Synod. In announcing the appearance of this competitor, *Rätta Hemlandet och Augustana*[10] stated that courtesy perhaps demanded that it welcome the new brother, but that it would be hypocrisy to do so, since the General Synod had tried to split the Augustana congregations.

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[7] *Augustana-synodens protokoll,* June 11–17, 1868.

[8] *Protokoll,* June 16–23, 1869.

Until 1870 Anderson was the only ordained pastor serving the Lutheran congregations outside the Augustana Synod. To correct this situation, three Swedish brethren were ordained at the meeting of the Synod of Northern Illinois in October of that year; on the same occasion the ordination of J. M. Sanngren was authorized, to be performed in his own mission chapel in Chicago by a committee appointed by the president of the synod. A resolution advising the Swedish brethren to organize a missionary conference was also adopted.[11] Missionary conferences continued to be held, but it was not until the fall of 1872 that a call was issued for the first annual meeting of the "Scandinavian Evangelical Lutheran Missions in the United States." At this meeting, held in Chicago in September, 1872, a constitution was adopted in which the Augsburg Confession was accepted without alteration.[12] This preliminary meeting was followed by a meeting at Keokuk, Iowa, to which congregations that had adopted or were about to adopt the proposed constitution were invited to send delegates. It was here that on May 22, 1873, the Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Mission Synod was organized.[13] Congregations both outside and within the Synod of Northern Illinois were represented at the meeting, and a warm discussion was held over the proposition to make the new synod a member of the General Synod, which had hitherto played the part of a big brother. The ultras, who were suspicious of organizations, had a majority, and the decision was in favor of an independent synod. Anderson, however, had other plans. He had already taken steps to establish an educational institution, a project for which subsidies from the General Synod were needed; moreover, there were many Swedes who looked askance at educated preachers, and on whose whole-hearted support he could not count.[14] Knowing of this antipathy, Anderson did not show his hand, and consequently we do not know what his program was. It appears, however, that he originally contemplated an affiliation with Carthage College, a new General Synod institution, and perhaps a Scandinavian professorship to attract students from the secondary school toward collegiate study.[15] But this never materialized. In any event, Anderson and a few other pastors withdrew from the Mission Synod, which they had helped to organize, within a few days. Almost single-handed he started the Mission Institute at Keokuk in the fall of 1873, having previously, at the June convention of the General Synod, received promise of financial aid.[16]

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[9] *Zions Banér,* August, 1873.

[10] July–August, 1871.

[11] Extracts from minutes, *Zions Banér,* September 13, 1878.

[12] *Zions Banér,* September, 1872. The constitution is printed in this paper, December, 1872.

The withdrawal of the Anderson faction from the Mission Synod left the Swedish congregations in the Synod of Northern Illinois with no organization of their own, though they had in common *Zions Banér* and the Mission Institute. Under the leadership of Anderson a conference was held at Galesburg from May 16 to 19, 1874, at which it was decided to withdraw from the Synod of Northern Illinois and to organize the Swedish congregations into a district of the General Synod. It called itself the Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Ansgarius Synod, adopted the General Synod constitution, and sent a delegate to the meeting of the latter body at Baltimore in May, 1875, at which time it was admitted to membership.[17] At the time of organization the Ansgarius Synod was composed of only eight congregations, located in Illinois, Iowa, Missouri, Kansas, and Dakota Territory, but others came in shortly afterward. Although the Ansgarius was the smaller of the two synods, Anderson's withdrawal was a rather serious blow to the Mission Synod.

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[13] *Zions Banér,* October 4, 1878.

[14] *Zions Banér,* April, 1873.

[15] *Rätta Hemlandet och Augustana,* August, 1872; C. V. Bowman, "Ansgarius College," *Swedish-American Historical Bulletin,* August, 1929, pp. 21–25.

[16] *Rätta Hemlandet och Augustana,* August, 1873.

Anderson lived a life of self-denial and was honest to the last penny. While serving as president of the educational institution he became so poor that he lost credit at the stores and at one time did not have enough money to buy a sack of flour. In 1879 he resigned as president and editor and withdrew from the synod to enter business and recoup his finances. In this he succeeded so well that in four years every dollar of his indebtedness was paid, and he again entered the ministry. He was disappointed in the Swedes for whom he had sacrificed so much; but it does not seem to lie in the plan of the universe for Danes and Swedes to work together.

The two synods accepted the Augsburg Confession without alteration and adopted constitutions in which there were but minor differences. Of these, the principal one was that the Mission Synod attached less importance to organization than did the Ansgarius and criticized the latter for emulating the example of the Augustana Synod in admitting "worldly" men to membership. In other words, the Augustana Synod represented the "right," the Ansgarius Synod the "center," and the Mission Synod the "left." The Ansgarius people preferred the General Synod to the General Council because it was more liberal; its churches were not closed to lay preachers and to those of other denominations, and the pastor was the servant of the congregation rather than its master. Not only was the General Council high church, but its membership was strongly German, and the Ansgarius adherents felt that they would feel more at home with the "Americans" in the General Synod, especially in view of the fact that English was the language of their children. Moreover, by this time the latter body had substantially adopted the unaltered Augsburg Confession. *Zions Banér* remained the mouthpiece of the younger synod, and after July, 1874, *Missionsvännen* served as the organ of the Mission Synod, while *Chicago-Bladet,* established in February, 1877, leaned far to the left and engaged in bitter polemics with both competitors. Regardless of serious differences, however, both synods were recruited from the same constituency and were one in doctrine. Many of the pastors in the rival organizations were on excellent terms and union meetings were common. The Augustana Synod, of course, impatient of fine distinctions, condemned both as "separatistic," and later, after the Waldenströmian doctrine of the atonement had not only made steady inroads in the Mission Friend ranks but also split Augustana congregations, as "heretical."

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[17] *Zions Banér,* June, 1874, April, June, July, 1875; *Chicago-Bladet,* February 10, 1885. The constitutions of the two synods are printed in *Zions Banér,* October 18, 1878.

In a preceding chapter we outlined the course of the Mission Friend movement in Sweden, the controversy awakened by the publication of Waldenström's famous sermon on the atonement in 1872, and the culmination in the organization of the Evangelical Mission Covenant in 1878. The new doctrine held equally great attraction for the Swedes in America. Not only were congregations split but families were torn asunder over the meaning of Christ's expiatory death on the cross. By their enemies the Mission Friends were called "New Lutherans," "Waldenströmians," and "Rationalists" ; the last designated their adversaries as "Augustanare" and insisted that they themselves were Lutherans. They cited the fact that there were rationalistic theological professors in Swedish universities, to which the Augustana people replied that that did not prove that the Lutheran church was rationalistic. In some instances when the pastor of an Augustana congregation refused to allow a Mission Friend preacher to appear in his pulpit, strife arose among the members and schism and secession followed. Members who distributed *Zions Banér, Chicago-Bladet,* and *Missionsvännen* were disciplined and expelled.[18] On his first visit to the United States in 1889, Waldenström gave the Augustana churches a wide berth, probably because he feared that he would be refused admittance in some of them; but when he made his second visit in 1901 and 1902 a better feeling prevailed on both sides.

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[18] *Augustana,* August 8, December, 1901, March 13, 1902. The papers mentioned in the text contain a wealth of controversial matter. *Skaffaren,* a paper published at Red Wing and St. Paul by Augustana pastors, was even more militant than *Rätta Hemlandet och Augustana.*

The most notable instance of defection from the ranks of the Augustana clergymen was that of John Gustav Princell, pastor of the ill-fated Gustavus Adolphus congregation in New York. He was born in Småland on September 18, 1845, and came with his family to America in 1856. He attended Augustana College and for a short time worked on the staff of *Hemlandet.* He was a good friend of Erland Carlsson, to whom he always remained attached. When called in 1869 to the presidency of St. Ansgar's Academy in Minnesota, he declined because he had just entered Chicago University. For two years he studied at the Lutheran Theological Seminary in Philadelphia, an institution of the General Council, and in 1872 was ordained by the Augustana Synod. When the Waldenströmian controversy descended upon Sweden, Princell followed it in the press and accepted the new doctrine, but as late as the spring of 1876 wrote to Wieselgren deploring the fact that the sects, the Methodists in particular, were making strong efforts to wean the Swedes away from "our dear Lutheran church and faith."[19] As pastor of the Gustavus Adolphus congregation, however, he had from the first exhibited a friendly attitude toward the Mission Friends and had on occasion attended their mission meetings.

In the spring of 1878 the president of the synod demanded a statement of Princell's doctrinal position, but received no reply. In the following June, at the meeting of the synod, Princell was subjected to an inquisition before the ministerium. Sensing the ultimate outcome, he requested a letter of dismission, but instead was suspended until he should retract his heretical statements. He had many warm friends among the clergymen, who were deeply moved at the action they found it necessary to take, and Princell always preserved his affection for them. It is interesting to note that one member of the committee appointed to bring in a report on Princell's case was Olof Olsson, a man who had formerly held liberal views and who some years later found himself the subject of an inquisition before the same ministerium. In the spring of 1879 several members of the Gustavus Adolphus congregation demanded Princell's resignation, which subsequently was received. Thereupon he became pastor of seceding congregations in New York and Campello, Massachusetts. The reader will do well to bear in mind Princell's experience with the Augustana Synod if he wishes to understand the rôle he played later among the Mission Friends. He perhaps had reasons for calling a synod "organized hypocrisy."[20]

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[19] Princell to Wieselgren, April 17, 1876 (MS); Princell, *J. G. Princells levnadsminnen.*

The winds of the great revival that swept over Sweden in 1876 and 1877 also blew across the Atlantic to the Swedes of the dispersion. Undoubtedly the greatest force was that of E. August Skogsbergh, who immigrated in 1876 and soon won the well-deserved title of the "Swedish Moody." He came upon call from a Mission Friend congregation in Chicago, but immediately undertook an evangelistic campaign that brought him to several communities and cities in Illinois, Minnesota, Kansas, and Nebraska. Although a Värmlänning by birth, Skogsbergh was a product of the Jönköping school of evangelism. Driven from home by his father after his conversion, he spent a year and a half in the Ahlberg school, at the end of which he went to Jönköping and was sent out as one of the apostles from that Jerusalem. He was well acquainted with such evangelists as Svenning Johansson and Samuel A. Johansson and on one of his last missionary tours in Småland worked with the renowned preacher and singer, Oscar Ahnfelt. He always counted it a great privilege to have had a part in the great revival, which was at its height when he emigrated. His most important work was done as a pastor in Minneapolis, where he labored from 1884 to 1908. From 1908 to 1913 he was in Seattle and thereafter had no regular congregation but called himself a traveling evangelist. In Minneapolis and Seattle he built mammoth "Swedish tabernacles," as the Mission Friend churches are usually called. In Chicago he met Moody, who placed his tabernacle at the disposal of Skogsbergh; and after the completion of the Minneapolis tabernacle in 1888 Moody was invited to hold a series of meetings there. At these meetings the crowds were so great that in the afternoons Moody spoke in other churches. At the World's Fair at Chicago in 1893, for which Moody arranged evangelistic services in many languages, Skogsbergh conducted meetings for two months, introduced by Moody as the "Swedish Moody." Skogsbergh was not only an orator but also an educator and editor, establishing schools and papers and continuing to write to a ripe old age. He is without question the greatest popular preacher the Swedish-Americans have produced.[21]

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[20] *Augustana-synodens protokoll,* June 17–24, 1878; Princell, *Princells levadsminnen,* 79; *Zions Banér,* August, 1873, April 4, 1879; "P. J. M.," in *Chicago-Bladet,* November 28, 1879; *Chicago-Bladet,* April 28, 1885.

The Mission Friends profited greatly by the heavy immigration of the seventies and eighties. Congregations were organized and tabernacles were erected. There was no lack of popular appeal in the Mission Friend message. Its strength was in its spontaneity, but this was also its weakness from the standpoint of organization. The story of the merging of the rival synods into the Swedish Evangelical Mission Covenant in America is the theme of the next chapter.

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[21] Skogsbergh, *Minnen;* Josephine Princell, in *Skogsblommor,* 1900, 47–51. The present writer has had the privilege of seeing and talking with Pastor Skogsbergh on a number of occasions.

CHAPTER XX

THE MISSION COVENANT

THE merging of the Mission Synod and the Ansgarius Synod into the Swedish Evangelical Mission Covenant in America is inextricably bound up with the early efforts of the Mission Friends to provide institutions for training preachers. And their educational history is strewn with as many failures and experiments as is that of the other Swedish churches. In fact, the one conspicuous failure of the Swedish-Americans is their educational system. Very few of the immigrants had a cultural background, and many of them looked askance upon higher education as dangerous to piety and pure doctrine. Moreover, solicitors for colleges and academies in immigrant communities were fortunate if they obtained contributions of five or ten dollars from a few individuals whose economic circumstances were somewhat better than those of their countrymen.

The Mission Institute at Keokuk began its first academic year in October, 1873, under the presidency of Charles Anderson, the founder. The preparatory department was designed to prepare for teaching in the public schools, for business, and for the study of law, medicine, and theology. The school of theology trained ministers, colporteurs, missionaries, and teachers. Through the generosity of certain Lutheran congregations in the East, theological students were provided with free lodging.[1] During the first year, classes were held in the Swedish Lutheran church and later in rented quarters. Anderson meanwhile negotiated for a more suitable location and adequate financial support. Plans were under way to move the institution either to Fairfield, Iowa, or to Galesburg, Illinois, when a benefactor appeared in the person of James Knox of Knoxville, Illinois, who offered to donate ten thousand dollars if the citizens of that city would give half as much. This condition

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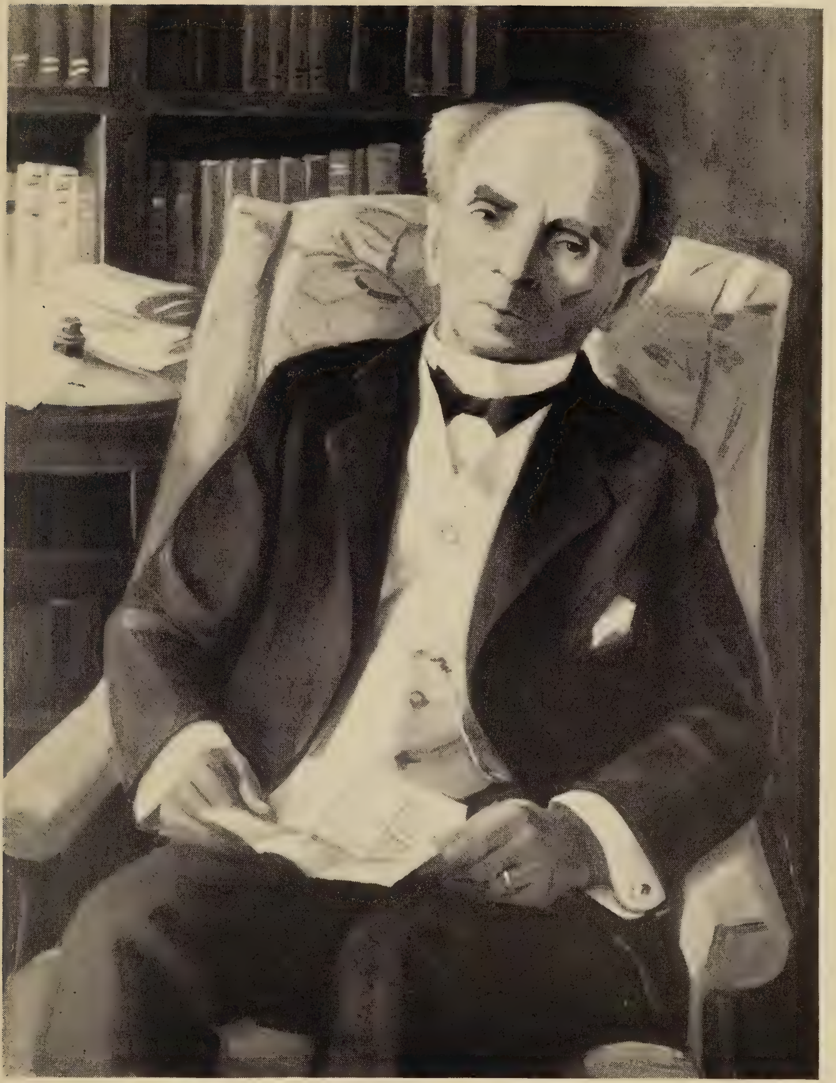
[1] *Zions Banér,* August, 1873.



E. August Skogsbergh

[*From a portrait in oils by Dewey Albinson, Minneapolis, 1931*]

was satisfied in short order, and the original gift was supplemented by four acres of land. In the fall of 1875 the institution opened its doors at Knoxville, and by the following summer the new building was completed. The rejuvenated establishment took the name Ansgarius College and Lutheran Ansgarius Theological Seminary, popularly known as Ansgarius College. By the terms of the charter the hands of the Ansgarius Synod were rather securely bound. One-third of the trustees were to be citizens of Knoxville, and if the institution ceased to serve the general public in branches of learning other than theology, the property should revert to the City of Knoxville.[2] Anderson remained president until 1878, when he was succeeded by Karl Erixon, who also became editor of *Zions Banér.*

Under Anderson's régime the college received no encouragement from the constituents of the Mission Synod, who warned their congregations against the products of " preacher factories " ; but in 1878, with the affiliation of the " mission school " maintained by the Mission Synod, the character of Ansgarius College was radically changed. Inasmuch as the academy overshadowed the theological department, the former was discontinued and only ministerial candidates were admitted, with the result that the number of students was greatly reduced. Under these discouraging circumstances President Erixon resigned in 1880 and John G. Princell succeeded him. At the time of this change the control of the institution was transferred from the Ansgarius Synod to a board, or " school society." Princell with his bent for controversy was not the man to save the situation, and upon his resignation in 1884 the institution was again turned back to the synod. But the case was hopeless, and the synod decided to close Ansgarius College in May of that year. The property went to the City of Knoxville, the citizens who had donated furniture reclaimed it, and the remaining property was sold at auction.[3]

During the years in which Ansgarius College was tottering to its fall, a movement of great import for the Mission Friends gained momentum and culminated in the merger of the Mission Synod and Ansgarius Synod in the Mission Covenant. Although both synods professed to be Lutheran and were one in opposition to the practice and polity of the Augustana Synod, as long as the Ansgarius Synod remained a district of the General Synod there was no prospect of union. As the strength of the Waldenströmian element increased, however, the Ansgarius congregations drew closer and closer to the Mission Synod and in 1882 withdrew from the General Synod. Moreover, with the departure of Anderson and Anjou, who had withdrawn from the Mission Synod to organize the Ansgarius body, the personal element became less prominent; and with the election of Erixon to the presidency of Ansgarius College and the editorship of *Zions Banér,* a long step was taken toward reconciliation. Erixon came directly from Sweden and had not taken part in the controversy that caused a cleavage in the Mission Friend ranks. Mellowed by years and averse to controversy, he immediately made gestures of fellowship by preaching in congregations of the Mission Synod, where he was favorably received. E. August Skogsbergh, one of the outstanding men in the Mission Synod, was also a man of peace and in favor of union. The friendly overtures of *Zions Banér* received a hearty response from John Martenson, editor of *Chicago-Bladet,* and on October 3, 1879, the organs of the respective synods merged under the name of the latter.[4]

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[2] *Zions Banér,* July, 1875, February 15, 1877.

[3] *Zions Banér,* August 9, 23, September 6, October 25, 1878; *Chicago-Bladet,* January 20, 1885; *Fosterlandet,* May 18, 1892; Princell, *Princells levadsminnen,* 109–110, 115 ff.

The initiative was taken by the Ansgarius Synod at its annual meeting in June, 1878, when it addressed a communication to the Mission Synod proposing union. The question was unofficially discussed in the fall of that year at a pastoral meeting held at Altona, Illinois, and attended by preachers from both synods. There was unanimous agreement that union was desirable, but the representatives of the Mission Synod saw large obstacles. One speaker could find no scriptural ground for synodical organizations. Another likened the synods to two planks, both of which needed planing; but, he said, if they were bound with iron rings, the rings would have to be removed first. Several were of the opinion that both organizations ought to dissolve in order to pave the way for union.[5] From this time on union meetings were common and the merger was discussed at meetings of the respective bodies. For instance, at a conference meeting of the Mission Synod at Salemsborg, Kansas, in February, 1879, the Ansgarius Synod was commended for suggesting union and for bringing that consummation nearer by giving communion to "believers" only and by admitting only Christian-minded youths to Ansgarius College. It deplored the indifference of the Mission body and recommended that its pastors visit the Ansgarius congregations as often as possible.[6]

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[4] *Chicago-Bladet,* September 13, 1878; *Zions Banér,* September 26, 1879.

Substantial progress was made at the annual meeting of the Mission Synod at Chicago on May 28 and 29, 1879, at which representatives of the sister synod were asked to state their case. The synod accepted their suggestion that a joint committee from both synods be appointed to draw up a plan of union. The report of this committee, signed by Skogsbergh and Erixon and four others, recommended that the old synods be dissolved after a committee of five had been appointed from each of them to formulate a constitution; that the new body receive into membership only "believers"; and that each synod appoint one or two pastors to visit communities, whether or not the proposed union were effected.[7] The report precipitated a lively and at times acrimonious debate. A number of the Mission Synod men opposed union on the ground that the Ansgarius congregations were not modeled after the New Testament, whereupon the Ansgarius representatives asserted that the proposed union included only the children of God in both synods and that they were ready to dissolve their synod. In reply to this it was advanced that it was uncertain just what the merger would include. The outcome of the matter was that definite action was postponed, and a communication was addressed to the Ansgarius Synod expressing a desire for union and leaving the decision to the individual congregations.[8]

During the next two or three years the outlook for union was anything but promising. The proposition called forth many ill-advised statements on the part of the adherents of the Mission Synod, and it appeared that the trend was away from every form of organization, synodical or other. The extremists among the free spirits had two able and aggressive spokesmen in the persons of Fredrik Franson and John G. Princell. Early in the eighties Franson, the little, swarthy man from Nora, began to preach the imminent return of Christ to claim his bride. He believed the time was too short to waste in creating organizations that would cleave asunder with the first crack of doom. Princell, meanwhile, had left the East to assume the presidency of Ansgarius College in 1880. For a time he had a license to preach from the Ansgarius Synod; but when he learned that according to law he could perform ministerial rites as an ordained pastor and president of a theological seminary, he surrendered the license and became independent of all synodical jurisdiction. After the demise of the college he became associate editor of *Chicago-Bladet* in 1884, a position he held until 1889, after which he published and edited *Frihet och Frid* for three years.

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[5] *Zions Banér,* October 4, November 29, 1878.
[6] *Zions Banér,* March 28, 1879.
[7] *Zions Banér,* June 13, 1879.
[8] *Zions Banér,* June 20, 1879; Bowman, *Missionsvännerna i Amerika,* 209–214.

During this time he was also pastor of an independent congregation.[9] For the first two or three years the pastors in both synods were very friendly to him, in spite of his independent position, but his editorials and articles overshot the mark. A coolness became noticeable; at certain public meetings he was asked outright why he was present, and one after another the mission houses were closed to him.[10] Early in 1885, in anticipation of the meetings to consider union, Princell published in *Chicago-Bladet* a series of well-prepared and well-documented articles giving the history of the free-church movement among the Swedes.[11] The extreme position of this newspaper was exactly that of a considerable element among the Mission Friends, but it repelled the majority, as the events of 1884 and 1885 demonstrated.

In response to a request of the " school society " charged with the responsibility for Ansgarius College, a meeting of the Ansgarius Synod was held at Galesburg in April, 1884. A committee appointed at the previous meeting to inquire into the proposed amendment of the constitution to pave the way for the merger reported that any article could be modified except the one adopting the Augsburg Confession, to change which would necessitate the dissolution of the synod. A new committee, of which Princell was a member, was instructed to draft a new document, which was presented and discussed, but no action was taken. At the annual meeting in Worcester, Massachusetts, in August of that year, however, the younger preachers were determined that the synod should dissolve. Some of them spoke harshly of Princell, who had proposed an organization patterned after the Mission Covenant in Sweden. A resolution favoring dissolution was carried at this time and consummated at the meeting in Moline the following spring.[12]

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[9] Princell, *Princells levadsminnen,* 108–109, 126–127.

[10] Four-column statement of Princell concerning his exclusion from the joint meeting of the synods, in *Chicago-Bladet,* March 3, 1885.

[11] *Chicago-Bladet,* January 3–February 24, 1885. See also the issues from April 28 to May 26, 1885.

In these years of storm and stress the Mission Synod marked time. Several congregations withdrew to assume an independent position. The necessity for a new organization became evident. The initiative was taken by the independent "tabernacle" congregation in Chicago in the latter part of 1884, when it appointed a committee to confer with C. A. Björk, the president of the Mission Synod. As a result of this conference a circular signed by Björk and F. M. Johnson, pastor of the "tabernacle," was addressed to the congregations in the Mission Synod, the congregations formerly in the Ansgarius Synod, and the independent congregations. This action brought about the "union meeting," held in Chicago from February 18 to 25, 1885.

Strangely enough, Princell was present, a circumstance that precipitated an extremely heated debate concerning his eligibility to participate. He presented a statement, which was read by Skogsbergh, in which he stated that he was not connected with any synod and inquired if he had the privilege of the floor, whereupon he was asked if he were the author of the articles in *Chicago-Bladet* opposing all organization and applying " un-Christian " epithets to those who favored it. Princell acknowledged his authorship, but denied that he was opposed to all forms of cooperation. Nevertheless, he was denied the privilege of the floor, over the strenuous protest of some delegates, including Skogsbergh, who feared that it would give rise to the charge that the meeting was packed beforehand. After his exclusion Princell made a speech, stating that he came to the meeting thinking that perhaps a brotherly hand would be extended to him. He did not question the right to deny him the privilege of the floor, but he said, " In the future do not say, ' We want to unite with everyone who fears God '; but if you say anything, tell the truth and say, ' We wish to join only with those we know have sanctioned a formal union of congregations.' " The day after Princell's exclusion, February 20, when the motion to unite was brought to a vote, only two or three of the sixty-two pastors and lay delegates voted in the negative. The next day the constitution was adopted. Thus on February 21, 1885, the Swedish Evangelical Mission Covenant in America was organized. The first annual convention was held at Princeton, Illinois, in September, 1885, under the presidency of C. A. Björk.[13]

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[12] *Chicago-Bladet,* April 22, 1884; Bowman, *Missionsvännerna i Amerika,* 242–244; A. P. Nelson, "Hufvuddragen af missionsvännernas historia i Amerika," *Valkyrian,* New York, October, November, 1900.

Among churches calling themselves Lutheran the Mission Covenant enjoys the unique distinction of adopting no formal creed — not even the Augsburg Confession. It contents itself with the statement in its constitution that it accepts the Word of God and the Old and New Testaments as the only rule of faith, doctrine, and conduct.[14] In doctrine it is as orthodox and conservative as any evangelical church in the United States. Because it accepts the Waldenströmian doctrine of the atonement it is not recognized as Lutheran by synods bearing that name. It has no liturgy and the preachers wear no clerical vestments. Much freer in its outlook than the Augustana Synod, it has no " Galesburg rule " to exclude pastors of other denominations from its pulpits, and it practices open communion. Laymen are called upon to offer prayers and to give "testimony" at regular services. As a rule the Augustana pastors have held coldly aloof from it and have regarded the organization of the Mission Covenant as proof that the Mission Friends were un-Lutheran. *Augustana och Missionären* commented that most of them called themselves Waldenströmians without understanding Waldenström's teachings. "Looseness under the name of piety gets nowhere," it stated.[15]

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[13] The proceedings of the meeting of organization are printed in *Chicago-Bladet* for March 3 and 10, 1885, and those of the Princeton meeting in the issues for October 6 to November 3, 1885. Princell wrote a somewhat sarcastic account of the meeting in the issues of April 14 to 21, 1885. At a subsequent meeting of the Mission Covenant an apology was extended to Princell for his exclusion.

[14] The constitution is printed in Bowman, *Missionsvännerna i Amerika,* 253–256.

We have seen that Hasselquist and certain pastors in the Augustana Synod from the beginning condemned the "free churches" among their countrymen in America as dogmatically as the parish pastors in Sweden condemned Rosenius and his followers; but there has always been a trace of the Mission Friend spirit in the Augustana Synod. This leaven might have worked more powerfully had it not been for the Waldenströmian "heresy." In any event, if the spirit of Olof Olsson had prevailed in the Augustana Synod in the decades of the seventies and eighties, the religious history of Swedish-America might have been written in very different fashion. Olsson was the great proponent of the free spirit in the Augustana Synod, but like all idealists and dreamers he was doomed to disappointments and was often misunderstood. The genial Värmlänning as a pastor in the Church of Sweden had fared no better at the hands of the ecclesiastical authorities than the other *läsare* pastors who had imbibed the spirit of Fjellstedt and Rosenius. There is good evidence that at that time he was leaning toward "reformed" doctrine and practice and that he even advised a close friend who was about to emigrate to America not to join the Augustana Synod because its pastors were partisan and sectarian.[16]

In the spring of 1869, when he was twenty-eight years of age, Olsson had migrated to America at the head of some two hundred and fifty immigrants, intending to found and serve a congregation of "true believers"; but not long after the organization of his flock into an ecclesiastical body he learned that human nature in Kansas was the same as he had found it in Värmland. Dissension, jealousy, and quarrels disrupted the congregation, and many old friends turned against the pastor. In the fall of 1876 he became professor in Augustana Theological Seminary, in which atmosphere of excessive orthodoxy he was betrayed into writing an attack on the new-fangled doctrine of the atonement and on the "free-church" element among the Swedes.[17]

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[15] *Augustana och Missionären,* June 24, July 29, 1885; "Leopold," in *Framåt,* Kansas City, June 2, 1888.

[16] Open letter of J. A. Skoglund to O. Olsson, dated at Florida, Minnesota, November 26, 1878, in *Chicago-Bladet,* December 20, 1878. Skoglund wrote that one night in Sweden when he, together with two others, discussed Luther's doctrine of the Lord's Supper with Olsson, the latter defended the reformed view.

But Olsson was too generous-hearted to be suited to the rôle of "hammerer of heretics," and he lived to regret this attack upon his former teacher at Uppsala. We have his own words as authority for the statement that with the passing of every year he favored union more — the *bête noire* of the Augustana Synod, with its Galesburg rule. It was in 1888 that, after reading in a Lutheran paper a series of articles directed against "heretics," he became terrified, he says, and asked himself: "Is that the way it sounds when a person attacks heretics?" As if to atone in part for his offense, he called on his old friend and former student, E. August Skogsbergh, who was living in Minneapolis. It felt good, he wrote, to meet an old friend after strife and talk of the things they had in common with Jesus Christ. He told his friend to gather all the Swedish people he could, because the Augustana Synod congregations had room enough. With fine irony he ridiculed the spectacle he had witnessed as a delegate to the meeting of the General Council in 1887, at which orthodox Lutheran theologians had sung Methodist revival songs from their own Church Book. It was useless for the theologians to protest that they did not preach as the Methodists and "other heretics"; for Olsson it was enough that they sang together with them and he was happy over the fact that, although Christians could not come to agreement by disputing and defining, they could sing themselves into unity and love. His account of this meeting betrays the rising hostility toward him in his own synod. He rejoiced that the General Council had not yet engaged in "heresy hunting" and was so friendly even toward such a visionary as himself. His brother pastors must have gasped with amazement when he publicly expressed a dislike for the ministerial garb, jested about wishing to change or insert a word in the Augsburg Confession, spoke well of the Y. M. C. A., and favored the organization of young people's societies, which at that time were regarded by many pastors as snares of the devil.[18]

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[17] O. Olsson, *Reformation, Socinianism och Waldenströmianism. Föredrag wid Augustana College och Seminary i Amerika 1878,* Stockholm, 1880, in which an attempt is made to identify the Waldenströmian doctrine with the Socinian "heresy." See also "O. O.," "Öfvergifvom icke vår församling," *Korsbaneret,* 1881, pp. 38–44.

Like the Mission Covenant in Sweden, with the passing years the sister church in America has become more institutional, and as a result the verbal warfare between it and the Augustana Synod has practically subsided. Not a few Mission Friend preachers in America and Sweden have sought and obtained ordination in the Augustana Synod or in the Church of Sweden. On both sides of the water this situation is due partly to the fact that an organized body carries greater prestige than a body without organization. A Mission Friend pastor, however, whether American or Swedish, feels more at home in the Church of Sweden than in the Augustana Synod. In the former communion he enjoys the doctrinal and other latitudinarianism of a state church, whereas in the latter he is fettered by close communion and the Galesburg rule and the fetish of "pure doctrine." In the event of a proposal for the union of the Augustana Synod and the Mission Covenant, the more hearty response would probably come from the former, just as overtures of friendship and cooperation were extended toward the freer Mission Synod by the more formal Ansgarius Synod.

The organization of the Mission Covenant was a victory for the moderates. The exclusion of Princell from the deliberations of the convention was not so much a personal matter as a recognition of the incompatibility between his party, which was left free to pursue its own course, and the rest of the convention. The controversy in Sweden over baptism, sanctification, justification, atonement, and church membership had echoes in the United States, and the extreme points of view were presented by Princell as teacher in Ansgarius College and editor of *Chicago-Bladet* and *Frihet och Frid*. He leaned toward the Calvinistic doctrine of the Lord's Supper and some of his utterances were regarded as treading closely on perfectionism, although he was more conservative on that point than were many of his followers. In 1888 he proposed that his party unite with the Mission Covenant in an organization composed not of congregations but of individuals, but this plan was rejected. Efforts made later also failed, and for some time the ultras had as a bond of union their two great leaders, Princell, the Bible student and writer, and Franson, the preacher, with the majority of their followers in the eastern states. They designated themselves successively by such names as the "Work of the Christians in Common," the "Swedish-American Missionary Society," and the "Free Mission," until in 1908 they were incorporated under the laws of Minnesota as the Swedish Evangelical Free Church. In 1929 the membership was about six thousand persons in about one hundred congregations.[19]

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[18] "O. O.," in *Hemvännen*, October 15, 29, 1887, January 21, 1888; O. Olsson, *Helsningar från fjerran*, Moline, 1880; Nyvall, *Min faders testamente*, 169–170.

The Mission Covenant represents a compromise between Congregationalism and Presbyterianism, whereas the Free Church is congregational. At yearly meetings the delegates of the Mission Covenant represent congregations, but the Free Church delegates come as individuals as well as representatives of congregations. The pastors in the Covenant are ordained at the annual meetings or by the president or other officers when it is necessary. In addition, licenses to preach are issued to men who are not ordained. In the Free Church each congregation ordains its ministers. Nevertheless, there are more similarities than differences. Most of the congregations in both bodies use the same hymnal (*Zionsharpan*), cooperate in home mission work, and have the same charitable institutions, such as orphans' homes, hospitals, and immigrants' and seamen's homes. Moreover, preachers are called without reference to which organization they belong.[20] For instance, Gustaf F. Johnson, the present pastor of the Minneapolis tabernacle, which was distinguished for many years by the incumbency of Skogsbergh, formerly served a Free Church congregation.

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[19] Gustav Edwards, "Svenska evangeliska frikyrkan," in Hildebrand and Fredenholm, *Svenskarna i Amerika,* 2: 144–145; Nelson, "Hufvuddragen af missionsvännernas historia i Amerika," *Valkyrian,* October, November, 1900; Princell, *Princells levadsminnen,* 252 ff.; *Minnesskrift utgifven med anledning af svenska evangeliska frikyrkans i Amerika trettioårsjubileum i Rockford, Ill. 10–14 juni 1914,* Minneapolis, 1914.

[20] Nelson, in *Valkyrian,* November, 1900, pp. 549, 563.

With the discontinuance of Ansgarius College, the Mission Friends lost their only educational institution on the eve of the organization of the Mission Covenant. It was just at this time, when the future of the free congregations was uncertain, that the Congregational church attempted to absorb them. In New England particularly, a number of Swedish Congregational churches were organized in the eighties and nineties, and in 1890 efforts were made to organize the Mission Covenant into a conference of the Congregational church. Among the Swedes, Franson was the principal exponent of this plan, which he regarded as an aid to his program for the evangelization of the world.[21] The Mission Friend papers, *Missionsvännen* and *Veckoblad,* however, were unqualifiedly opposed.

The proposition had certain attractive features. Previous to this time the Chicago Theological Seminary, supported by the Congregationalists, had established a Swedish department to which the Mission Covenant had been invited to send theological students. At the expense of the Congregational church C. A. Björk had been sent to Sweden to confer with Waldenström about the choice of a man to instruct in the Swedish department. The choice fell upon Fridolf Risberg. At the first meeting of the Mission Covenant, in September, 1885, it was reported that a committee from the Congregational church had consulted with a committee from the Covenant and had informed them that the purpose was not to make Congregationalists of the ministerial candidates but simply to give aid to a sister church. Though the Covenant committee had no power to act, the Congregationalists went ahead, trusting that satisfactory arrangements would be made. Two members of the Covenant were appointed to the seminary board, but their church had no legislative power. Until the establishment of the Mission Covenant's own institution in 1891, a number of its preachers were educated at the Chicago Theological Seminary, which in a sense became the approved institution of the Free Mission church.[22]

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[21] Montgomery, *The Work among the Scandinavians, Including the Swedes, Danes, and Norwegians;* letter from Kate L——n, New York, March 23, 1893, in *Svenske Budbäraren,* Gothenburg, April 13, 1893; Olson, *Swedes of Illinois,* 1: 617–623; Nelson, in *Valkyrian,* November, 1900, pp. 563–564.

The arrangement with the Congregational seminary proved to be impractical, for the Swedes, of whatever church affiliation, preferred to have their own educational institutions. In September, 1885, at the time Risberg entered upon his duties, Princell opened a "school for preachers" in Chicago,[23] but the educational system of the Mission Covenant had its real beginning in 1884 in a school conducted by Skogsbergh in his home in Minneapolis. In the following year it was transferred to a building formerly occupied by a store, where it remained until the tabernacle was erected. After that it was provided with more satisfactory classrooms. A "school society" was organized, and the institution took the name Northwestern Collegiate. David Nyvall, brother-in-law of Skogsbergh and teacher in the Chicago Theological Seminary, was elected president, and a theological department was added to courses in church history, general history, Swedish, nature study, bookkeeping, penmanship, English, music, and Bible study. The institution was offered to the Mission Covenant and accepted at the annual meeting in 1891, but questions soon arose as to its permanent location and stirred up as much ill feeling among Mission Friends as did similar problems among the Swedes in other denominations. Over the strenuous protest of Skogsbergh, the school was transferred to Chicago during the hard times of 1894—which put several Swedish-American colleges and seminaries in financial straits—and took the name North Park College, under the presidency of David Nyvall.[24]

Skogsbergh believed the choice of Chicago was a colossal mistake and renewed his educational activity in Minneapolis that same fall.[25] A building was rented, a corporation was formed, and a new institution appeared under the name of

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[22] *Chicago-Bladet,* October 13, 1885; L. G. Almen, in *Skaffaren,* November 4, 1885; Nelson, in *Valkyrian,* October, 1900, p. 498.

[23] *Chicago-Bladet,* September 1, 1885.

[24] *Chicago-Bladet,* January 6, 1885; David [Nyvall], in *Hemlandsvännen,* Stockholm, November 3, 1892, February 28, 1893, July 19, 1894.

[25] Skogsbergh, *Minnen,* 204–207.

Northwestern College. The new academy was offered, as its predecessor had been, to the Mission Covenant, which accepted it and rechristened it Minnehaha Academy.

The Mission Friend educational institutions are vastly different from the original conception in the minds of the fathers. The faculties have been recruited from graduates of American universities and such liberal divinity schools as Yale and Andover. In spite of the protests of some able and aggressive fundamentalist preachers, such as Gustaf Johnson of the Minneapolis tabernacle, the schools harboring such faculty members have had no great difficulty in obtaining funds for the building and maintenance of impressive physical plants. As yet, however, the Mission Friends have not invaded the domain of collegiate education. From the beginning the congregations have maintained parochial schools, at first throughout the year in competition with the public schools but in recent years only during the summer. In 1903 the Swedish department of the Chicago Theological Seminary was given a more independent status and was designated the Swedish Institute of the Chicago Theological Seminary. In addition to the institutions already discussed, a Swedish Bible Institute conducted by Princell first in Chicago and then in Minneapolis deserves mention, as does a Mission Covenant academy in Kansas, known as Walden College, of which David Nyvall was president during the two years of its existence, from 1905 to 1907.

With their educational institutions and publication houses located in Chicago and Minneapolis, the Mission Friends are more fortunate than the Augustana Synod, which has failed to establish permanent institutions in these Swedish centers. *Svenska Kristna Härolden* was established in Minneapolis by Skogsbergh in 1884; it later became *Minneapolis Veckoblad* and is now *Veckobladet*. *Missionsvännen,* established in 1874, is still published in Chicago. *Förbundets Veckotidning* is the official organ of the denomination. *Nya Österns Veckoblad,* established in 1896, is the organ of the Free Mission and Congregational churches.

It is a curious paradox that the Mission Friend, Baptist, Methodist, and Free Church denominations among the Swedes have been more loyal to the Swedish language than has the Augustana Synod, in spite of the fact that the former sang " reformed " hymns in Swedish translation, whereas the Augustana Synod used a slightly modified version of the *Psalmbok* of the Church of Sweden. There is probably a twofold explanation for this. Since 1900 those of the Swedish immigrants who have taken an interest in religion have been largely from the free churches; and we have had occasion to point out that the relation between those churches on the two sides of the water has been far more intimate than that between the Augustana Synod and the Church of Sweden. Moreover, the Americanized members of the churches outside the Augustana Synod have gone into the sister congregations, leaving a Swedish residue, whereas the Augustana Synod was forced to become in a measure Americanized in order to retain its identity and independent status, and so retained a non-Swedish element that in time became the majority. The Mission Covenant, nevertheless, in spite of its Swedish bias, in 1928 decided by a vote of 131 to 47 to make English the official language. Previously, in 1921, the *Covenant Companion* had been established as the official English organ of the Mission Covenant. In commenting on the change effected in 1928, the Swedish organ said that the time was ripe for it; not, however, because Swedish was no longer appreciated but because English was the language of the land.[26]

With the exception of the Augustana Synod, the Mission Covenant is the largest church body among the Swedes in America, the membership in 1930 being about 33,000, with 485 preachers and 402 congregations. There are twelve mission districts or conferences, each holding annual or semiannual conventions.[27]

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[26] Quoted in *Augustana*, July 18, 1929. Up to 1929 the proceedings (*årsberättelser*) were published exclusively in Swedish.

[27] In 1929 the net total enrollment of North Park College was 470, with 195 in the academy, 120 in the junior college, and 36 in the school of theology. The net total enrollment of Minnehaha Academy was 244, with 191 in the academy, 73 in the business college, 57 in the department of music, and 25 in the Bible school. It has a debt of $26,500. North Park College has an endowment.

CHAPTER XXI

THE SWARMING OF THE SWEDES

WHEN the Augustana Synod was organized in 1860, emigration from Sweden had barely begun. The earliest emigrant companies were usually from the same neighborhood in Sweden. A parish would be infected with the "America fever" by a letter from an adventurous person who had braved the unknown and who now wrote of his experiences and of the wonders of the "Land of Canaan." The fever would spread; friends and neighbors would confer about the possibilities of following his example; and the result would be the formation of a company under the leadership of a man who had the confidence of his fellow parishioners. Before the Civil War most of the parties sailed directly from Sweden to America and kept together on the long and trying journey to the Middle West, where they settled in the same community. The earliest settlements, therefore, consisted of people from the same neighborhoods in the old country.[1] After the means of communication and transportation became easier, and especially after the advent of the railroad, group emigration was not so common.

The most striking example of group emigration is the Eric-Jansonist colony at Bishop Hill. Before the close of the decade of the forties and prior to the arrival of Esbjörn, several settlements had been established around the New Jerusalem, the most important of which was Galesburg. A few years after the close of the Civil War a Swede who traveled twenty miles westward from Galesburg said that he felt that he was in a Swedish province, because at every railway station he heard groups of immigrants conversing either in the dialect of their own province or in broken English. Their occupations were various; they were tailors, cobblers, carpenters, furniture makers, masons, well diggers, teamsters, sawyers, and farmers. The Swedes in Galesburg were so numerous that a portion of the city came to be known as "Swedetown."[2] Settlements existed also in Iowa, Minnesota, Indiana, New York, Pennsylvania, and Texas. Chicago had already become the distributing center and geographical capital of Swedish-America in 1860.

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[1] See an interesting article by Erik Norelius, "Den första svenska invandringen till Förenta Staterna," *Prärieblomman,* 1900, pp. 37–49.

The panic of 1857 was partly responsible for a migratory movement of large proportions; and in that movement the church played an active part. In the years just preceding the panic, prospects for the future of the Swedish settlements had been brighter than ever before. *Hemlandet,* established in 1855, had been followed shortly by its adversary, *Den Swenske Republikanen.* Plans for the Scandinavian professorship at Illinois State University were under way, congregations were being organized, and churches were under construction. In the meantime letters from settlements in various parts of the country extolling the sections from which the writers came had appeared in *Hemlandet.* When, therefore, agricultural and industrial depression descended upon them, the Swedes became restless and began to talk of moving to places where the prospects of making a living appeared to be better.[3] Naturally, the leaders in the churches were interested in directing their countrymen to settlements where they would be under the influence of religion. Thus from the very beginning the church and individuals within the church became interested in colonization projects. Moreover, individuals and emigration companies interested primarily in profit to themselves used the church to further their own ends, and frequently capitalized the names of men of good character in enterprises that reflected no credit either upon them or the ecclesiastical organizations of which they were a part. This chapter of the religious history of Swedish immigration is an important though far from creditable one. Throughout the decades of colonization the pages of the religious press blazed forth huge advertisements of land and

[2] Article on "Swedetown," in *Hemlandet,* reprinted in *Snäll-Posten,* Malmö, December 31, 1856; *Amerika-Bladet,* Örebro, quoted in *Hwad Nytt?* Eksjö, November 20, 1869.

[3] Some of these letters are published in translation in the *Yearbook of the Swedish Historical Society of America,* 1922–1923, pp. 56–152.

settlement companies bearing the indorsement of clergymen, even when the project was one for starting a colony in the arid portion of western Kansas or in tropical Cuba. Educational institutions were located not so much with reference to the distribution of the Swedish population as to the prospect of profit from the sale of farm lands and city lots to provide revenue for the expenses of the institution. Promoters fattened on the gullibility of clergymen, who were as ignorant of the tricks of their trade as they were of the fine points of an education program.

One of the earliest attempts at mass migration was made by Dr. C. H. Gran of Andover, who claimed to be a graduate of a medical institution in Copenhagen. His project was given considerable publicity in *Hemlandet* and *Swenske Republikanen* from 1856 to 1858, and a pamphlet giving the details was issued as a supplement to the latter paper. An indorsement of Gran's character was published over the signatures of several persons, Hasselquist and Esbjörn among them. In order to overcome some of the difficulties of pioneering, Gran proposed the establishment, on a communistic basis at first, of a colony in Kansas. At a "Kansas meeting" in Galesburg in the summer of 1857, Gran presented his plan to a large audience. In the early part of 1858 the leader went to St. Louis expecting to meet several prospective colonists, but his plan miscarried. Some of the colonists went to the Smoky Hill region of their own accord without waiting for Gran and took out preemption claims. Gran, after having waited in vain for recruits, left with a small group, but they returned, disappointed in the country and disgusted with the way the affair had been mismanaged. Gran returned to Andover and as late as 1870 was operating a fruit farm there.[4]

After the collapse of Gran's colony, plans for a proposed mass migration took a new form. Rumors of the discovery of gold at Pike's Peak and in western Kansas flew thick and fast and fired the imagination of the Swedes. The "Pike's Peak or bust " fever among the immigrants caused the organization of emigration companies.[5] In order to turn the swarming tendencies of the Swedes to the advantage of the church, Hasselquist, pastor of the congregation in Galesburg, wrote a letter to *Hemlandet* requesting ministers and others to furnish information through the columns of that paper about prospects for immigrants in various parts of the country. The response was gratifying. In a number of letters the religious appeal was strong. P. A. Cederstam, a Lutheran pastor, wrote from St. Peter, Minnesota, that his state offered the brightest prospects for the Swedish Lutheran church. He pointed out that as fourteen or fifteen congregations had already been organized and a considerable Swedish population was already there, the immigrants who concentrated in that new state could have their own schools and churches. At a meeting held in the Swedish Lutheran church at Galesburg in April, 1859, the letters were read, and Oscar Malmborg, who came as a representative of the land department of the Illinois Central Railroad, urged the advantages of buying land from his company.[6] No decision was reached at this meeting, but agents were appointed to inspect first the railroad land and then other possible locations. Reports were made at a later meeting, but this attempt at a mass migration failed, partly because of divided counsels and partly because of hard times and the subsequent outbreak of the Civil War.[7]

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[4] *Den Swenske Republikanen,* September 12, 1856, May 29, June 19, 1857, June 24, 1858; *Hemlandet,* June 3, September 18, December 3, 1857, May 22, December 18, 1858; *Illinois Swede,* April 16, 1870; S. T. A. Burg, *Upplysningar för utwandrare till Amerika. Utgifwen på grund af 15 års erfarenhet med en karta öfwer Nord-Amerika,* Stockholm, 1860, pp. 27–36.

The war for southern independence and the Sioux revolt in Minnesota in 1862 brought chaos into the affairs of the Augustana Synod. One of the reverses traceable to national upheaval was the failure of the synod to secure a respectable number of students in Augustana Seminary. The leaders, particularly Hasselquist and Carlsson, sought the remedy for the situation in a change of location, as will be discussed in another connection. Of greater ultimate importance, however, was the fact that when victory for the North was seen to be certain, emigration from Sweden increased. Within a few months after the surrender of Lee a network of emigration agencies was spread over both countries. Agents and subagents distributed literature, made house-to-house canvasses, called meetings, organized emigration societies, and even established newspapers whose pages blazed forth huge advertisements of land companies, steamship companies, railway companies, and agencies of every description. Every means of stimulating emigration was used, and the religious appeal was not the least of them. In fact, some agents took pains to parade religion by carrying Bibles and hymn books and inviting their victims to accompany them to religious meetings. Frequently pastors paying a visit to their native parishes recruited a party of emigrants and conducted them to the Promised Land, sometimes receiving free transportation from interested groups in whose behalf they promised to work. There were, however, pastors and laymen whose interest in founding settlements and directing immigrants to them was dictated largely, if not solely, by interest in the church they represented. The immigrants were fortunate enough to find in practically every community at least one man who took a personal interest in the newcomers, assisting them to obtain employment, lending money, giving advice, and leading them into the fold of the local congregation. Immigrants who had heard of such persons in their native parishes usually went directly to their homes and were often lodged and fed there until provision had been made for their employment.

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[5] Correspondence from Princeton, in *Hemlandet,* February 15, 1859; letter from T. N. Hasselquist, in *Hemlandet,* March 15, 1859; " Ho! for ' Pike's Peak,' " signed O. P. Pearson, *Frihetswännen,* January 28, 1859.

[6] With reference to Malmborg, see A. A. Stomberg, " Letters of an Early Emigrant Agent in the Scandinavian Countries," *Swedish-American Historical Bulletin,* June, 1930, pp. 7–52. The letters pertain to Malmborg's career from 1854 to 1861.

[7] George M. Stephenson, " Some Footnotes to the History of Swedish Immigration from about 1855 to about 1865." *Yearbook of the Swedish Historical Society,* 1921–1922, pp. 49–52, and " Hemlandet Letters," *Yearbook,* 1922–1923, pp. 79–126.

A year or two before the panic of 1873, the land company fever had reached its culmination; and although many of the companies became bankrupt soon after their organization, colonies had been founded by that time and the geographical distribution of the Swedish population had begun to take the form it came later to have. Church leaders in these colonies were perplexed by many problems, some of them the result of the far-flung distribution of the immigrants. Settlements, states, and sections claimed their share of schools and colleges, hospitals, orphanages, and other institutions. Some of the more important settlements will be considered briefly; not, however, for the purpose of giving an account of their multifarious projects, but in order to show the part religion played in the history of immigration.

The Swedish colonization of Kansas began when the territory was the battle ground of slavery and freedom, but it was not until 1868 that it assumed the character of a successful "movement." Missouri was "worked" by the Missouri Land Company, a subsidiary of the Swedish Commercial Company, but its officers proved to be scoundrels and bankruptcy resulted. The Swedes preferred Kansas to Missouri because the state was newer and land cheaper, and because abler men were expounding its advantages. Minnesota was the most formidable competitor and was fortunate enough to have a man of such ability and good report as Hans Mattson to advertise it among the Swedes in the homeland as well as in the new country.

The preeminent pioneer religious leader among the Swedes in Kansas was Olof Olsson, founder of the celebrated Lindsborg colony. In 1868 two companies were formed, the first usually known as the Chicago company and the second as the Galesburg company. A few Swedes had already settled in the Lindsborg country prior to the arrival of Olsson, who was called to be their pastor while serving a parish in Värmland. When Erik Norelius visited Sweden in the summer of 1868, he met Olsson and talked with him about casting his lot with his countrymen in the New World. In the spring of 1869, at the age of twenty-eight, Olsson with his wife, parents, and a brother left the land of his fathers to become a pastor in the land of his dreams. In his party were about two hundred and fifty immigrants, most of whom went directly to Lindsborg. The part played by this erudite, musical, philosophical man for six years among the pioneers in Kansas belongs rather to the colorful pages of fiction than to the sober book of history. The roof of his church was of sod and there was no key to the door, against which a stone was placed. A one-room house was a poor substitute for the comfortable curate's residence in Värmland, but Olsson was not discouraged. "I am glad," he said, "that I am free from the bonds and chains of the state church. I have never taken so much abuse from anyone as I took from the Swedish archbishop for the offense of having preached the Word of God wherever opportunity presented itself." He considered the years spent in Kansas the most pleasant of his career — years when he visited the farmers in their sod houses with doors so low that he had to crawl in and with rooms so small that, as he said, when he stayed over night the occupants had to be good friends. He never forgot the friends of pioneer days and could never quite convince himself that he had done the right thing in leaving them to accept a professorship in Augustana Theological Seminary in the fall of 1876. In spite of his multitudinous duties as professor, financial solicitor, and college president, he grasped every opportunity to visit his old haunts and always wrote with warmth about his beloved Kansas. It was there that he had first inhaled a free atmosphere and felt the exuberance of emancipation from the trammels of an Old World society.

The man who shares with Olsson the distinction of being the pioneer Augustana Synod pastor in Kansas is Anders Wilhelm Dahlsten. Like Olsson, he had come under the influence of Fjellstedt and for a time had been a student in his institute at Stockholm; and it was through Fjellstedt's financial assistance that he emigrated to America in 1859. Dahlsten was one of the seven Swedish students who left Illinois State University on the occasion of Esbjörn's sudden departure. As the pastor at Galesburg, in the summer of 1868 he presided over a meeting at which it was decided to organize the Galesburg Colonization Company. He was a member of a committee appointed on that occasion to make a tour of investigation in Kansas. This committee brought to Galesburg an agent of the Kansas Pacific Railway. At the conclusion of negotiations the land contracted for was distributed by lot among the members of the company, each person to own the land assigned to him, and the company was dissolved. Dahlsten was thus one of the prime movers in the establishment of settlements in and around Smoky Hill Valley. Dahlsten did not accompany the immigrants to their new homes, but remained in Galesburg for a time. In the fall of 1869, however, he was sent by the Augustana Synod to organize congregations in the new settlements. He presided over the organization meetings at Fremont and Salemsborg and at the close of the year became their pastor. In addition to performing his regular duties, he served sometimes as organist, made visits to neighboring congregations and settlements, started young people's societies and singing societies, superintended the construction of churches, and organized public school districts.[8]

A number of other colonization companies were organized toward the close of the sixties and in the early seventies, but the second great Kansas boom did not occur until 1887 and 1888. By that time the dynamic personality of Carl Aaron Swensson had projected itself into the foreground. Swensson, referred to familiarly as "Prästa Kalle," was a powerful platform orator and a prolific contributor to the Swedish press. Swensson, Olsson, and a number of others were responsible for the inauguration of a boom in western Kansas, particularly in Wallace and Logan counties. The two leaders traveled through this region in 1887 and were delighted with it. A few months later *Framåt,* Swensson's paper, published in Kansas City, devoted an entire number to "puffs" for the new El Dorado. Olsson wrote a long letter telling about his visit and other Lutheran pastors wrote about various settlements. Then came a series of crop failures and the people condemned the "Kansas preachers" as swindlers. However, land companies and colonization societies were formed and cheap railroad excursions brought homeseekers.[9] At the same time settlers were pouring into the Red River Valley, the Dakotas, and Nebraska.

The early Swedish settlers in Nebraska, like those in Kansas, came mostly from Illinois and Iowa. They had been employed on farms and in the factories in Chicago, Rock Island, Moline,

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[8] The principal sources for the early history of the Kansas Swedes are as follows: Alfred Bergin, *Lindsborg efter femtio år,* Rock Island, 1919, and *The Swedish Settlements in Central Kansas. An Address before the Kansas State Historical Society,* December 7, 1909; *Hemlandet, Svenska Amerikanaren, Amerika,* Gothenburg, and *Amerika-Bladet,* Örebro, 1866–1870.

[9] *Framåt,* Kansas City and Lindsborg, May 12, July 21, August 25, September 1, 1888; *Fosterlandet,* May 18, June 1, 22, 1892; *Augustana,* February 14, 1892; Carl G. Norman, "En sann svensk-amerikan," *Valkyrian,* May, 1898, pp. 238–242. Josua Lindahl was interested in the Swedish Colonization Company, which was working in western Kansas. See *Framåt,* March 16, 1887. A detailed and important article is A. Schön, "De förste svenskarne i Kansas," *Prärieblomman,* 1912, pp. 165–199.

Galesburg, and Burlington. Some deserted the Mormon Zion in Utah and found their way back to Nebraska. Those who came directly from Sweden usually stayed for a time in Omaha and worked in the Union Pacific shops or on railway construction work. When, by the beginning of 1870, the Burlington and Missouri River Railroad was completed as far as Council Bluffs, the land department of that road decided to conduct an extensive advertising campaign in the newspapers both of America and of Sweden. Joseph E. Osborn, a son of L. P. Esbjörn, represented the company in Gothenburg, and Charles Anderson, after his resignation as president of Ansgarius College, became the general Scandinavian agent at Burlington. Some years later Olof Bergström, a Baptist, represented the Union Pacific Land Department at Gothenburg, Nebraska. Like Minnesota, Wisconsin, and other western states, Nebraska had a board of immigration at the beginning of the seventies. Within a few years five important Swedish settlements had appeared: Omaha and its suburbs; Saunders County (Wahoo, Mead, Colon, Malmo, Swedeburg, and Ceresco); the Oakland settlement in Burt County, extending to Dodge and Cuming counties; Swedehome in Polk County and Hamilton County (Stromsburg, Hordville, Osceola, and Polk); the Holdredge settlement in Phelps and Kearney counties (Loomis, Bertrand, Sacramento, Funk, Axtell, and Keene).

The most prominent of the earliest pastors was S. G. Larson, who had been one of Esbjörn's disciples at Springfield and was one of the few pastors who spoke fairly fluent English. Prior to accepting the call to the mission field in Nebraska, in September, 1868, he served the Lutheran congregation at Knoxville, Illinois, a community not far from Galesburg, in the region from which so many swarms set out for new and better clover. He conducted services in an English Lutheran church immediately upon his arrival at Omaha in the early fall of 1868. Later he was accorded the use of a Presbyterian church. Before the end of October a Swedish Lutheran congregation had been organized, but it was a hard struggle to appeal to the floating population. Larson's family arrived in November, but on account of the condition of the Missouri

River their furniture could not be obtained. Throughout the earlier part of that first winter the family had scarcely enough food and only a scanty supply of fuel.[10]

In February, 1869, the Swedes in Omaha, many of whom were out of work, began to talk of taking homestead claims. Larson advised them to go in a body to form a settlement. A meeting was held and a committee, of which Larson was a member, was elected. In snow and slush the committee set out for the southwest, but high water made it impossible to go to the place appointed. At Lincoln they were advised to go to Saunders County, but here, too, the water was over the bridges. However, after many vicissitudes, the party returned safely to make a report, as a result of which two or three hundred Swedes chose Saunders County for their future home. This experiment brought Larson a large correspondence from many parts of the country. In the spring he made trips to Logan and Oakland and at the latter place organized a congregation. He found Swedes there from Andover and De Kalb.[11]

The famous Iowa settlement at Stanton was founded in 1869 through the efforts of Bengt Magnus Halland, a Lutheran pastor at Burlington. Halland led a party of immigrants on a tour of inspection in Page and Montgomery counties. The first year about eighteen thousand acres of land were taken up, and soon the " Halland settlement " became one of the most prosperous communities in Swedish-America. Together with outlying settlements, Tabor, Fremont, Bethesda, Essex,

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[10] A four-page, closely written report of S. G. Larson's work in the mission field in Nebraska during the synodical year 1868–69, dated at Omaha, May 18, 1869, is in the Wieselgren papers in Gothenburg. See Charles F. Sandahl, *The Nebraska Conference of the Augustana Synod,* Rock Island, 1931.

[11] Material on the early settlement of Nebraska may be gathered from the following: O. M. Nelson, *Svenskarne i Nebraska,* Omaha, 1916; Joseph Alexis, " Swedes in Nebraska," *Publications of the Nebraska State Historical Society,* 19: 78–85; *Nebraska missionsförening i ord och bild vid dess tjugofemårsjubileum 1887–1912;* Boukersson, *Tre år i mormonlandet,* 177–178; correspondence from Nebraska and items in *Dagens Nyheter,* Stockholm, February 17, 1866; *Sändebudet,* May 13, November 11, 1878, May 19, 1879; *Skandinavisk Härold,* Omaha and Fremont, February 11, March 18, 1871; *Väktaren,* Omaha, September 10, 1868; *Scandias Stjerna,* Omaha, April 8, 1869; *Zions Banér,* February, 1875, September 15, 1877, January 17, 1879; *Chicago-Bladet,* January 31, 1879, September 30, 1884, October 13, 1885; *Svenska Tribunen,* October 6, 1880; *Norrlands-Posten,* Gävle, July 15, 1870; *Swerige och Amerika,* Jönköping, August 4, 1871; *Amerika,* Gothenburg, August 9, 1871.

Shenandoah, Red Oak, and Rensburg, it is one of the " hearts " of the Iowa Conference of the Augustana Synod.[12]

When the news of the discovery of gold in California reached Sweden, a number of adventurers set out to seek their fortune. In America, too, several companies organized under the leadership of Swedish-Americans braved the dangers and hardships of a transcontinental trek. When the Swedish frigate " Eugenie " on her voyage around the world from 1851 to 1853 put in at San Francisco, a member of the crew estimated that there were no fewer than five hundred Swedes in the Golden State. The fortune hunters were not seriously concerned about religion, but as early as 1860 efforts were made to organize a Swedish Lutheran congregation in San Francisco. For a time a talented young man from Växjö, " Janne " Tenngren, who arrived in California in 1851, conducted services by reading sermons and devotional literature. Tenngren wrote poetry, both devotional and secular, for the papers in the United States and Sweden. He was also a temperance enthusiast. By the middle of the sixties he was back in Sweden in broken health; what his fate was after that time, however, is unknown.[13] After Tenngren left in 1862, a man by the name of Holmberg, a merchant from Gothenburg, conducted services until 1863, when he returned to Sweden. Not knowing of the existence of the Augustana Synod, the congregation called a pastor, J. J. Lindgren, from Sweden. But when Lindgren arrived, he asserted that conditions had been misrepresented. He found that the Norwegians and Danes would not affiliate with a congregation harboring Swedes. Within a few weeks he returned to Sweden and in a letter published in the newspapers warned his countrymen against America and California in particular.[14] Another pastor from Sweden, Strömberg, served the congregation from 1864 to 1867, but friction between the Scandinavian nationalities made progress impossible and eventually the congregation joined the Norwegian church. It was not until 1874 that the Augustana Synod began its work in California.[15]

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[12] Correspondence from Halland in *Hemlandet,* July 13, September 28, 1869; J. E. Rydbäck, " Bengt Magnus Halland," *Korsbaneret,* 1903, pp. 151–157; Jennie H. Ericson, in *Allsvensk Samling,* Gothenburg, January 2, 1917.

[13] Johan Fredrik Tenngren, *Minnen från Vexiö på 1830- och 1840-talen,* Växjö, 1912. This autobiography, which ends with 1851, was published many years after the death of the author. He intended to continue the story of his life, but the present writer was unable to obtain any information about a later manuscript during this research in Sweden. Several of Tenngren's poetical contributions are in *Kungliga Biblioteket,* and his poems in America were published in *Den Swenske Republikanen, Sändebudet,* and *Frihetswännen.* N. J. Andersson, *En verldsomsegling skildrad i bref,* Stockholm, 1853, 1854, furnishes an account of the voyage of the " Eugenie." Several letters from the same author were published in *Aftonbladet* in 1853 and in other papers.

In the Pacific Northwest the Augustana Synod began its missionary work in 1879, although men had been sent five years previously to investigate the field. Peter Carlson was the only Swedish Lutheran pastor west of the Rockies until 1880, when he was joined by Jonas Vender. In 1883 Johan W. Skans arrived and in the following year G. A. Anderson, perhaps the most prominent of the pioneer pastors. There seems to have been no organized effort on the part of the Augustana Synod to attract settlers to specific communities. The Swedes, who found employment in logging camps and in railway construction work, were difficult material for the missionaries, partly because of the nature of their work, which produced a floating population. After the turn of the century, however, the immigrants became fruit farmers, contractors, and business men. The Pacific Conference was organized at Tacoma in 1888 and for a time included California.[16]

Except in Texas, efforts to colonize the Swedes in the southern states have failed. During the ten years following the close of the Civil War, agents for land companies conducted an intensive campaign to induce immigrants to settle in Tennessee, Mississippi, and Louisiana, but the few Swedes who believed the rosy promises of these promoters were soon awakened to a bitter reality. The press counteracted its own advertising pages by publishing disillusioned communications from the settlers. In the decade of the forties the beginnings of Swedish settlements were made in Texas. Among the earliest colonists were Swen M. Swenson and Svante Palm, men of outstanding ability, whose influence extended to Sweden and brought a number of recruits even before the war. The greatest influx of Swedes into Texas, however, occurred in the period from 1878 to 1895. Most of these immigrants, who came directly from the region around Jönköping, were brought to the Promised Land by labor contracts rather than pastors. From 1890 to 1900 a considerable number of Swedes from the northern states, especially Illinois, moved to Texas and for the most part settled in farming communities along the Gulf Coast and in the Rio Grande Valley. The emigrants who came directly from the Old Country gravitated to Travis and Williamson counties. Austin is the center of the Swedish community in Texas.[17]

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[14] *Nerikes Allahanda,* reprinted in *Bihang till Östgötha Correspondenten,* December 20, 1862.

[15] Ernst Skarstedt, "Bland landsmän i den yttersta nordvästern," *Prärieblomman,* 1906, pp. 93–110; *California och dess svensk befolkning,* Seattle, 1910; Philip Andreen, "Den svenska lutherska kyrkans begynnelse i Californien," *Ungdomsvännen,* October, 1909, pp. 299–301; O. Olsson and P. Carlson, in *Augustana,* February 21, 1895; J. Telleen, "Svenska ev. luth. Ebenezer-församlingen i San Francisco, Cal.," *Korsbaneret,* 1885, pp. 60–79.

[16] Ernst Skarstedt, *Oregon och Washington,* Portland, 1890, and *Washington och dess svenska befolkning,* Seattle, 1908; G. A. Anderson, "Något om Augustanasynodens mission i Oregon, Idaho och Washington Terr.," *Korsbaneret,* 1888, pp. 89–106; G. A. Anderson, "Columbia Conference," *Alumnus,* Rock Island, June, 1894; *Augustana och Missionären,* January 7, July 8, 1885; *Hemvännen,* May 5, 1888.

One of the " promoter-preachers " in the Augustana Synod, C. J. E. Haterius, a pastor in Galesburg, attempted to found a colony in Calhoun County, Texas. *Augustana,* on May 19, 1892, printed a half-page advertisement offering a special car and cheap rates from the synodical meeting at Lindsborg to southern Texas. But neither Haterius nor the church reaped profits from the scheme. Another Texan project was that undertaken in 1898 by Erik Norelius, who with several Swedes from Minnesota, Iowa, and Colorado, visited El Campo, Texas, with a view to finding a suitable site for a Swedish Lutheran colony.[18]

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[17] Through the courtesy of Professor Carl M. Rosenquist of the University of Texas the author has had the pleasure of reading his doctoral dissertation, " The Swedes of Texas." See Ernest Severin, *Svenskarne i Texas i ord och bild 1838–1918,* Austin, 1918; August Anderson, *Hyphenated, or the Life Story of S. M. Swenson,* Austin, 1916; A. Schön, " Svante Palm," *Prärieblomman,* 1900, pp. 181–189; J. A. Stamline, " De första skandinaverna i Texas," *Prärieblomman,* 1903, pp. 170–180; Palm to Wetterstedt, July 6, 1866, October 4, 1867; Swenson to Wetterstedt, June 20, 1866 (MSS in *Riksarkivet);* Svante Palm to *Hemlandet,* August 28, 1855, published in translation in the *Yearbook of the Swedish Historical Society,* 1922–1923, pp. 67–70; items from and about Texas in *Svenska Amerikanaren,* September 4, 1867; *Jönköpings-Bladet,* December 1, 1868; *Amerika,* May 19, 1870; the *Workman,* Pittsburgh, May 8, 1884; E. A. Skogsbergh, in *Allsvensk Samling,* April 2, 1918.

[18] *Augustana,* December 29, 1898. There are a few Swedish congregations in Florida, Alabama, and Tennessee, but they are small in membership.

During the migration of the sixties and seventies a considerable number of Swedes settled in New England, some of them coming as contract laborers in the textile mills. By 1890 the Swedish population of Lowell, Massachusetts, was about one thousand, most of which number had come within the preceding five years. The most important settlement in the Bay State, however, is Worcester. In 1893 there were no fewer than ten thousand Swedes in that city. New Britain, New Haven, Hartford, Providence, Boston, and Brockton are New England cities with a considerable Swedish population. The group of New England Swedes, composed largely of immigrants who came to America after 1880, contains in large numbers the new type of immigrant. Those among them who have remained true to the church are more Swedish and high church than their precursors, having left the fatherland after the *läsare* movement had run its course.[19]

Among the eastern states, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania have the largest Swedish population. Jamestown, New York, is really a Swedish city, practically all the officials being of that nationality. Most of the business houses and all the furniture factories are owned by Swedes. This city and the settlement in Warren County, Pennsylvania, are among the oldest settlements in the country, but the great bulk of the population came in the later decades.[20]

Before 1880 very few Swedes settled in Canada. During the period from 1880 to 1882, when the Canadian Pacific Railway was in the process of extension into Winnipeg, many Swedes from the United States were employed in the work of construction and a few remained. In 1887 the immigration department of the Canadian Pacific Railway began the publication of *Den Skandinaviske Canadiensaren,* and since that time the northern neighbor has attracted a portion of the emigrants from Sweden, mainly those from the northern provinces. Winnipeg is the most important center of Swedish population, but there are other settlements in Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and western Ontario. The number who have come directly from Sweden to Canada has been relatively small. The Mississippi Valley has made the largest contribution to Canada's Swedish population, with the result that this group of emigrants has felt itself a part of the Augustana Synod. The synod began missionary work in a small way in 1883, but the first congregation was not organized until 1889. The Canadian Swedish Lutheran congregations belonged to the Minnesota Conference of the Augustana Synod until 1913, when the Canada Conference became one of the thirteen conferences of the synod.[21]

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[19] *Nya Wexjö-Bladet,* September 30, 1865; *Amerika,* June 30, 1870; *Svenska Tribunen,* January 26, 1881; *Augustana,* March 6, 1890; *Svenske Budbäraren,* Gothenburg, May 10, 18, 1893; Hjalmar Nilsson, "Massachusetts hjerta," *Valkyrian,* February, 1898, p. 63; A. M. L. Herenius, in *Allsvensk Samling,* September 15, 1920; C. G. Norman, "Svenskarne i Worcester," *Prärieblomman,* 1904, pp. 12–27; Hjalmar Nilsson and Eric Knutson, *Svenskarne i Worcester,* Worcester, 1898.

[20] V. Berger, *Svenskarne i New York,* New York, 1908, etc.; O. W. Anderson, "Jamestown, N. Y., och svenskarne der," *Valkyrian,* November, 1898, pp. 561–566; Julius Lincoln, "Första lutherska församlingen i Jamestown, New York," *Korsbaneret,* 1908, pp. 111–130.

A statistical wizard has computed that in 1890, according to the census of that year, the center of Swedish population in the United States was Swedona, twenty miles south of Rock Island,[22] and this may furnish a fairly satisfactory clue to its distribution at the present. In the census report of 1880 the states with the largest Swedish-born population are arranged in the following order: Illinois (42,415), Minnesota (39,176), Iowa (17,559), Kansas (11,207), New York (11,164), Nebraska (10,164), Michigan (9,412), Wisconsin (8,138), Pennsylvania (7,576), Massachusetts (4,756), and Utah (4,000).[23] By 1910 Minnesota had displaced Illinois; New York was third, Massachusetts fourth, Michigan fifth, California sixth, Washington seventh, and Iowa had dropped to eighth. Wisconsin, Nebraska, Pennsylvania, and Connecticut followed in order.[24] In 1920 the order was the same for the first four, and Washington, California, Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa, Pennsylvania, Nebraska, Connecticut, New Jersey, North Dakota, Oregon, and Kansas followed in the order given.[25]

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[21] John G. Dahlberg, "Canada-missionen," *Korsbaneret*, 1914, pp. 59–105; Helge Nelson, *Nordamerika. Natur, bygd och svenskbygd*, Stockholm, 1926, pp. 366–373; Svante Udden, *Från Canada*, Rock Island, 1898, and "Vårt missionsarbete i de britiska provinserna Manitoba, Assiniboia och Alberta i N. Amerika," *Korsbaneret*, 1894, pp. 47–70.

[22] Andrew W. Williamson, professor of mathematics in Augustana College. See letter from G. A. Andreen, in *Augustana*, November 12, 1903.

[23] Ernst Beckman, *Amerikanska studier*, Stockholm, 1883, 1: 23–25.

[24] Fredrik Larson, *Statistik öfver svenskarne i Förenta Staterna intill året 1910*, 2d ed., Chicago, 1914.

[25] Nelson, *Nordamerika*, 135.

The Swedish-born population of the present day is concentrated in the northern Mississippi Valley, which contains over half of the entire number. St. Paul and Minneapolis and Chicago are the great urban centers.[26] Until the close of the nineteenth century the church population of Swedish-America was overwhelmingly rural, both in influence and number, but within the last two decades a number of factors have turned the advantage in favor of the city dwellers. With few exceptions, among the Augustana Synod pastors the more influential men serve city congregations.

Although the membership of the Augustana Synod increased with the augmenting immigration, the statistics of the Swedish-born in the census reports are not an accurate index of the number of church members and communicants in the conferences of the synod. The older conferences, Illinois (organized in 1853), Minnesota (1858), and Iowa (1868), had the advantage of a more stationary population and well-established congregations to retain the children as well as to attract the new arrivals. In membership the New York Conference ranks fourth and the Iowa Conference fifth. The former was organized in 1870 and originally included New England. The New England Conference, however, was organized in 1912. New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Ohio remain in the older body. The Kansas Conference (1870) included originally Kansas, Colorado, Nebraska, Wyoming, and South Dakota south of the White River, but the three states last named were organized separately in 1886 as the Nebraska Conference. In membership these conferences rank sixth and seventh, respectively. Next in membership is the Red River Conference, organized in 1912, which was originally a part of the Minnesota Conference. The remaining conferences rank in order as follows: the Superior Conference, organized in 1910, which embraces northern Michigan and northeastern Wisconsin; the Illinois Conference, including other portions of those states; the Columbia Conference, organized in 1893, which includes Washington and Oregon; the California Conference, organized in 1893, which was originally a part of the Pacific Conference, organized in 1888; the Texas Conference, organized in 1922; and the Canada Conference, organized in 1913. The total communicant membership of the Augustana Synod in 1930 was somewhat over 230,000. This number is but a fraction of the Swedish-born immigrants, to say nothing of the second and third generations.[27] It is obvious that the spire of a Swedish church seen over the landscape must have been an inducement to many immigrants to settle in the vicinity, but as a rule the settlers came before the church. The church as a factor in promoting community settlement plays a minor rôle in the history of Swedish immigration. For a few years at the beginning of the present century a corporation known as the "Augustana Colonization Association" sought to capitalize the name of a church in selling land in Swedish Lutheran communities, but little profit accrued either to the church or to the corporation.[28]

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[26] A map showing the distribution of the Swedish-born population is found in Nelson, *Nordamerika,* facing page 127.

The distribution of its relatively small membership from Maine to California created tremendous problems for the Augustana Synod and indeed for all Swedish ecclesiastical organizations. Conference and sectional loyalty and rivalry have made for divided counsels and discord. The educational problem, for example, has never been solved, partly because of sectionalism and partly because of the scattered membership. The "Minnesota spirit," the "Kansas spirit," and similar local viewpoints were factors impossible to disregard.

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[27] Maps showing in detail the territory of each conference and giving statistics are printed in the annual publication *My Church* (Rock Island), the first number of which appeared in 1915. A number of histories of the individual conferences are listed in the Bibliography. Norelius, *Historia,* 2:296–511, contains a somewhat detailed account.

[28] According to the annual report of L. A. Johnston in 1914, the synod decided that while it wished the "new plan" success, it would not engage in any colonization project. In 1924, however, the synod resolved "that the Augustana Synod does not hereafter give its moral support to any land company or other business enterprise whereof it has no control; and that the synod requests the Augustana Colonization Association to discontinue the use of the name 'Augustana' in its corporate name."

CHAPTER XXII

THE AUGUSTANA SYNOD FROM 1860 TO 1880

THE Augustana Synod was organized in 1860. It had at that time a communicant membership of approximately three thousand; at the end of the first decade it had increased to about twenty thousand; and at the close of the second the number had reached forty-two thousand. A less propitious time for launching an enterprise of far-reaching proportions could scarcely have been chosen. For four years a war of unprecedented proportions was to rage within the borders of the country; and although, with the exception of the Sioux revolt in Minnesota in 1862, the Swedish settlements were remote from the scenes of carnage, the Augustana Synod suffered in common with the other churches. A church supported almost solely by immigrants weathered with difficulty the uncertain financial conditions. With the great influx of immigrants from 1867 to 1870, problems increased. Then came the great panic of 1873. One can only conjecture what the growth of the Augustana Synod might have been had not the general industrial and agricultural depression paralyzed, in part at least, its agencies and activities.

Three questions of major importance stand out in the annals of the Augustana Synod from 1860 to 1880: (1) the affiliation with the General Council; (2) the secession of the Norwegians; and (3) the establishment and maintenance of educational institutions. First in importance and time is the educational problem, bound up as it was with the very existence of the synod. From the beginning it was realized that the success or failure of an institution for the training of ministers was a matter of life or death for the synod. It will be convenient, however, to defer the discussion of this topic until the other two have been considered.

When the Norwegian element in the Augustana Synod withdrew in 1870, cooperation within a single synod of Swedish Lutheran and Norwegian congregations, which began with the organization of the Synod of Northern Illinois in 1851, was terminated. Before the Civil War neither the leaders in the Swedish Mississippi Conference nor those in the Norwegian Chicago Conference anticipated the heavy emigration from the Scandinavian countries, and they regarded the use of foreign languages in their churches as merely a brief phase of their existence. When differences of opinion arose over the advisability of incorporating the word "Scandinavian" into the title of the Augustana Synod, it was objected that the term might suggest that the synod wished to discourage the use of English and retard Americanization. The term was adopted, however, with the understanding that it signified merely that all the members were Scandinavians. There is ample documentary evidence that Hasselquist, Carlsson, and Norelius had no intention at that time of building up a church on the basis of nationality and that they hoped and planned for a united Lutheran church. Hasselquist's editorials and letters, at all events in the earlier years, show that his policy as president of Augustana College and Theological Seminary was to prepare the way for the transition from Swedish to English. He bent every effort to add an English professor to the faculty and his relations with leaders in the older and more Americanized Lutheran synods in the East were cordial and even intimate.[1] Even as late as 1890, shortly before his death, he saw that the Swedes were too few in number to retain Swedish as a living language. He advocated the study of the language as long as it was spoken, but insisted that the students should be taught to think in English. He professed an abhorrence for American know-nothings, but asserted that the Swedes who were afraid of American-born Swedes were no better.[2]

During the nine years the Swedes and Norwegians were together in the Synod of Northern Illinois, their relations appeared to be harmonious. The Norwegian leaders, Paul Anderson and O. J. Hatlestad, were in agreement with Hasselquist and Carlsson; and perhaps the know-nothing bias of some of the Americans in the synod drew the "foreigners" closer together. Moreover, the constant accusations of the Norwegian Synod and the Missouri Synod that the Scandinavians were in heretical company supplied another common enemy. Before and after the formation of the Augustana Synod, efforts were made to reconcile the differences between the Scandinavians in the two organizations without success. When the Scandinavians seceded from the Synod of Northern Illinois on doctrinal grounds, the Norwegian Synod men were gleeful, but, with Norwegian persistence or stubbornness, they were not satisfied with the confession of sin in this form.[3] *Contritio cordis* must show itself even more definitely. In a series of letters in *Skandinaven,* H. A. Preus asserted that the Scandinavians had seceded without honestly admitting their error in remaining so long in a heretical synod in spite of warnings from the Norwegian Synod. He criticized the constitution of the Augustana Synod and asserted that its ministers were poorly educated and trained. He listed the chief points of difference between the two synods, which included the conception of the ministry, laymen's activity, the Sabbath, the "new birth," absolution, and chiliasm.[4]

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[1] Stephenson, *The Founding of the Augustana Synod,* 136–138, 149–150; Hasselquist to Baugher, October 8, 1863 (MS); Hasselquist to Wieselgren, December 21, 1869 (MS); Hasselquist to Schaeffer, undated, probably 1862 or 1863 (MS).

[2] *Augustana och Missionären,* February 18, 1885; *Augustana,* May 8, 1890.

It appears that the Swedes were most anxious to retain the Norwegians in the Augustana Synod. The latter were treated liberally in respect to the apportionment of offices, but it is likely that they became uncomfortable with the steadily increasing Swedish membership, since they could not compete on even terms with the more powerful Norwegian Synod. Both in Sweden and in America the Swedish national spirit was weak, especially in comparison with that of the Norwegians, but it was inevitable that the spirit of nationality should become stronger with increasing numbers. In spite of protests of friendship and oratorical gestures, the fact remains that the Swedes and Norwegians have had little in common. They have nevertheless, a certain mutual respect.

Within the Augustana Synod the Norwegians disagreed among themselves over the use of the liturgy and of ministerial gowns. For the most part, the Swedes were innocent bystanders in these controversies. From the beginning Augustana Seminary was too Swedish for the Norwegians, and when it was moved from Chicago to Paxton in 1863, it was remote from the congregations of the latter. Financial difficulties and the problem of securing a man for the place left the Norwegian students without a permanent professor of their own nationality until 1868, when A. Weenaas came directly from Norway to the seminary. By this time, however, the separatist movement among the Norwegians had already begun, and the Norwegian professor augmented its force. He thought that the curriculum placed undue emphasis on purely cultural subjects and that there was too much of the American spirit in the institution. It disturbed him also that under the leadership of the Swedes the Augustana Synod was drawing close to the General Council and that all signs pointed to its becoming a constituent part of a body whose doctrinal position, in his opinion, was dubious. He also stated that the synod was growing unwieldy, but this appears to have been a mere pretext. There is evidence that the propaganda of the Norwegian Synod was accomplishing its work.[5]

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[3] Stephenson, *The Founding of the Augustana Synod,* 82–87; Carlsson to Hasselquist, January 2, 1861 (MS.).

[4] *Svenska Amerikanaren,* July 24, 1867.

By 1868 the Swedes saw that separation was inevitable and, although they deplored it, sensed the futility of attempting to retain the synod intact. The usually clear-sighted Hasselquist, who had originally opposed the disruption of the Synod of Northern Illinois and dreamed of a united Lutheran church, in a letter to Passavant stated that the Norwegian brethren were intensely Norwegian and that Christianity was not powerful enough to overcome their nationalism. He thought it wrong and injurious to the cause of the Lord to be divided on nationalistic grounds.[6] Whatever may have been transmitted within sealed envelopes, no unkind epithets were exchanged publicly. At the formal parting at the convention of the Augustana Synod at Andover in June, 1870, only friendly words were spoken. When six Norwegian congregations signified their opposition to the division of the synod, the synod adopted a resolution expressing regret that the Norwegians were not unanimous in their desire to go their own way and admonishing all of them to affiliate with the new body. It is significant that the recalcitrant congregations were the oldest among the Norwegians. It was not until problems common to Lutheranism as an international creed arose during the World War that the Norwegian and Swedish Lutherans cooperated. Since those fateful days they have worked together in other causes, and the entry of the Augustana Synod and the Norwegian Lutheran church of America, together with other synods, into a confederation known as the American Lutheran Conference, which took place in 1930, is prophetic of a brighter chapter to be written in the future.

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[5] A letter from Hasselquist to Professor Gottfried Fritschel of the Iowa Synod, June 9, 1867, points to this conclusion. For a copy of it the writer is indebted to Professor George J. Fritschel of Dubuque, Iowa. See also Hasselquist to Wieselgren, January 3, 1868. For a discussion of separation, see Olga W. M. Wold, The History of the Augustana Synod, 1860–1870 (MS), a master's thesis presented at the University of Minnesota in 1927; A. A. Stomberg, "Early Efforts at Scandinavian Church Union in America," *Yearbook of the Swedish Historical Society,* 1923–1924, pp. 7–34. *Augustana-synodens protokoll,* 1867–1870, contains references.

[6] January 26, 1869.

The year that marked the termination of the union of the Swedes and Norwegians also marked the beginning of an experiment in "unionism," for in it the Augustana Synod became a member of the General Council. Under the leadership of the strongly German Pennsylvania ministerium several synods withdrew from the General Synod in 1866 and in the following year organized the General Council, which established itself squarely on the unaltered Augsburg Confession and the symbolical books. Following the lines of the General Synod, the new organization functioned largely in an advisory capacity, confining its deliberations mainly to general principles, whereas the constituent synods retained the powers that were theirs in the old general body. Although the Augustana Synod was represented by a delegation at the organization meeting at Fort Wayne, Indiana, in November, 1867, it did not formally ratify the constitution and become a member until 1870.

It seems strange that after the disastrous experience with "unionism" in the General Synod the Swedes should have formed an organic connection with a body so strongly German in character. But in accounting for any major policy adopted by the Augustana Synod in the first thirty years of its existence the historian must reckon with the compelling influence of Hasselquist. In the first decennium he was re-elected president year after year. The poorest parliamentarian that ever presided over the deliberations of the synod, he nevertheless won the respect and admiration of all by his personality, although some of his confreres thought he was too " free." He was a strong believer in centralization, advocating one synod, one college, one paper, and one central government, and his influence was probably decisive in checking the trend toward sectional and conference particularism. He was undoubtedly the ablest leader and most versatile personality the Swedish Lutheran church in the United States has produced. He directed the editorial policies of *Det Rätta Hemlandet* and its successor, *Augustana,* until 1889, and placed an enduring stamp on his church. Moreover, as president of Augustana College and Theological Seminary and as theological professor from 1863 to 1891 he molded the character of the students, who consulted with him as with a father and spoke of him as the patriarch of the synod.

It was fortunate, however, that through this long and critical period of its history, the synod levied on the talents of Erland Carlsson, who supplied the practical qualities in which Hasselquist was so woefully lacking. It was Carlsson who, as attorney-general and business manager of the synod, prepared for the Immanuel congregation in Chicago the constitution that became the model for the other congregations, formulated resolutions and motions at the opportune moment, and kept an eye on bank balances and acted when they became deficits. Ecclesiastical organizations owe more to men of his type than they usually acknowledge. In their respective domains Hasselquist and Carlsson reigned supreme.

After the declaration of independence of the General Synod, Hasselquist hastened to reassure the conservative leaders in the East that the Swedes had no intention of building up a church of their own or of separating from the Lutheran church in America and that they harbored no intention of retaining the

Swedish language longer than necessary.[7] He was a voluminous and faithful correspondent, with a keen sense of historical values. He took copies of practically every important letter he wrote, and a perusal of his letter file is a cause for wonder that he found the time for this epistolary activity amidst his other duties. Even before the attempted diplomatic coup of Bishop Whitehouse and the defection of the Mission Friends, Hasselquist was making overtures to Passavant and other Lutheran leaders. He was present at the organization of the General Council, and at the meetings of the Augustana Synod in 1868 and 1869 advocated the ratification of the constitution. The delegates to these meetings, however, were not so enthusiastic about the proposition as the president and the committee that recommended ratification, and final action was delayed until 1870. This delay was caused by the fear that the General Council was not sound on certain questions of doctrine and practice, such as chiliasm, secret societies, and pulpit and altar fellowship with other denominations. The last two points were never quite settled to the entire satisfaction of the Swedes.[8]

The Augustana Synod has never forgotten the experience with so-called "unionism" in the Synod of Northern Illinois. The official historian of the synod, Erik Norelius, a close friend of Esbjörn and never an enthusiast over the General Council, in all his contributions presented only one side of this controversy and steadfastly defended his friend by magnifying his opponents' sins of commission and omission. Until 1927 everything that was written was based on the work of Norelius. No thorough, fresh study of the documents was attempted. During the forty-eight years' organic connection between the Augustana Synod and the General Council, covering the period from 1870 to 1918, Norelius presided over the synod for nineteen years, from 1874 to 1881 and from 1899 to 1911, and Per Johan Swärd for eight years, from 1891 to 1899.

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[7] Hasselquist to J. A. Seiss, June 29, 1861; C. F. Schaeffer to Hasselquist, May 31, 1864.

[8] Norelius' account (*Historia,* 2: 151–163) is unsympathetic. M. C. Ranseen, who for four years was president of the General Council, presents a wholly different view in *Minnesskrift med anledning af Augustana-synodens femtioåriga tillvaro,* 426–436. He tends to minimize differences, whereas Norelius emphasizes them. For a sober account see A. R. Wentz, *The Lutheran Church in American History,* Philadelphia, 1923, pp. 276–291.

According to his own testimony and documentary evidence, Norelius was lukewarm, to say the least, to the general body. Except for a period of a few years, his work was carried on within the Minnesota Conference, notable for its lack of allegiance to the General Council. Swärd, both in appearance and character, was a strong reminder of a prelate in the Church of Sweden. He was educated and ordained in Sweden and after serving as missionary among seamen in Constantinople and in Boston and Baltimore he entered the Augustana Synod. He was thus a man of mature years, and he never learned to feel at home in the use of English or among Americans and Swedish-Americans. In 1899 he returned to Sweden to enter the established church. It was unfortunate that he was president during a critical period when decisions had to be made that were of great moment for the future, and in particular for the English mission projects.

One serious objection to the affiliation with the General Council was the practice of some congregations of exchanging pulpits with the congregations of other denominations. From the beginning the Augustana Synod was opposed to this; and when the Mission Friends organized their mission societies and held union services with Methodists and Baptists, the effect was to make the synod even more conservative. At the meeting of the synod in 1873, when the Ansgarius and Mission synods were getting under way, Hasselquist and Jonas Swensson presented theses in opposition to pulpit exchange and in favor of close communion. These resolutions were unanimously adopted and the Augustana Synod delegates to the meeting of the General Council were instructed to say that they represented the position of their synod on these matters. At the General Council meeting in 1875, the so-called "Galesburg rule" was adopted: Lutheran pulpits for Lutheran ministers only; Lutheran altars for Lutheran communicants only. This action, however, did not dispose of the troublesome question, for some congregations interpreted it in the light of the decision made at Akron three years before, which left room for discretionary action by each congregation and did not define the "rule" as legislative but as "educational." After years of controversy it was finally decided in 1889 that exceptions to the " rule " were permissible.

Certain other problems were the cause of much dispute. With reference to prohibition the German element could not come to agreement with the puritanical Swedes. In dealing with members who joined secret societies the General Council rejected the disciplinary methods of the Augustana Synod in favor of " education." Within the last twenty-five years, however, many Augustana congregations have outlawed the synodical rule excluding lodge members, and at the present time it is not unusual to see even deacons and trustees wearing Masonic pins. But even after the turn of the century a large and old rural congregation in Iowa almost split because of threats to exclude Modern Woodmen of America, and there are still pastors who condemn secret orders from the pulpit. Much ink was spilled in the columns of *Augustana* from 1890 to 1910 over this question. The closest the synod has ever come to ordaining a Mason was some ten years ago when a young man who had taken a " demit " was admitted into the holy ministry. This is probably as close as it ever will come, unless a complete change of attitude should occur. More than one pastor, perhaps, has changed his mind in recent years about consigning Masons to perdition after seeing his son, a physician or prosperous business man, wearing the insignia of that order. And it is hardly likely that the synodical papers will in the future denounce political movements modeled after the Farmers' Alliance and the Grangers, as they did when those organizations were in the public eye.[9]

Relations between the Augustana Synod and the General Council were peaceful in the period before 1890 as compared with the years that followed. So long as the Augustana Synod remained exclusively Swedish, the disharmony was doctrinal rather than practical, although it must not be forgotten that " pure doctrine " has sometimes been a convenient " talking point" to conceal practical differences. The fundamental difficulty was rooted in the language question, which involved the education of ministers and the organization of English congregations. With the exception of the Augustana Synod, the General Council was composed of district synods; and congregations organized under the auspices of the Home Mission Committee of the General Council were indisputably under the jurisdiction of the district synod within whose territorial boundaries they were organized. But the Augustana Synod was a nation-wide organization whose boundaries transcended those of district synods within the same federation. When an English-speaking congregation was organized in Minnesota, for example, the question arose as to whether it should be a constituent part of the Minnesota Conference of the Augustana Synod, whose deliberations were conducted exclusively, or almost exclusively, in the Swedish language. If not, then the prospect of a new district synod arose and a leakage from the Augustana Synod into the new body occurred. In other words, the Swedish synod was afraid of losing its identity, or, at best, of finding itself numerically depleted after the Americanized element had been drawn off. What would it profit the Augustana Synod if Lutheranism gained the whole country and the synod lost its identity? It so happened, however, that down to 1890, with one exception, the English mission projects of the Augustana Synod were carried on within the borders of the large and powerful Minnesota Conference.

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[9] The reader interested in this subject is referred to the following editorials and communications: *Rätta Hemlandet och Augustana,* July, 1873; *Augustana,* February 6, 1890, February 1, 1894, November 14, 1895, February 21, 28, 1901, September 25, November 27, 1902, September 4, 1904; *Ungdomsvännen,* May, 1899. *Skaffaren,* published at Red Wing, Minnesota, was rabidly opposed; see the files for 1879. Norelius and Sjöblom were editors at that time.

In 1883 the General Council sent George H. Trabert as its English missionary to the Northwest. Trabert, being a man of good judgment, proceeded carefully in order to avoid antagonizing the Swedish pastors; but the congregations that he and his missionary colleagues organized were not recruited exclusively from the Swedish population and some of them felt out of place in a nationalistic body. The result was the withdrawal in 1890 of one congregation, followed shortly by others. Some refused to join the synod. This separatist tendency culminated in the organization of the Synod of the Northwest in 1891, followed by the application of this body for admission into the General Council as a district synod. This phase of Augustana Synod history will be considered in another connection, where it will be discussed more fully. Suffice it here to say that the Synod of the Northwest remained an abomination before the Augustana Synod and gave rise to many threats of secession from the General Council. It was perhaps the most important single factor to cause the synod to hold aloof from the United Lutheran church, a product of the merger of the General Council, the General Synod, and the United Synod of the South in 1918. The Minnesota Conference was almost a unit in opposing the merger. Even M. C. Ranseen, a former president of the General Council and a member of the Illinois Conference, opposed it. In spite of the unqualified approval of the merger on the part of the acting president of the synod, Gustaf A. Brandelle, it was voted down at the Minneapolis convention in 1918 by a heavy majority. Thus the bonds were severed that had united the synod to the General Council, and the former became once more independent, as it had been from 1860 to 1870. Fifty-eight years after the first meeting of the Augustana Synod nationality had again asserted itself. It is pertinent to state in this connection, however, that the United Lutheran church, as its name indicates, departed widely in its organization from the General Council, the synods expressly delegating to it wide powers of jurisdiction, legislative and other. The problem of adjusting its agencies to the new body was a tremendous one for the Augustana Synod.[10]

The problem of the education of pastors, too, raised a rough sea. As long as the instruction in Augustana Theological Seminary was almost exclusively in Swedish, there was no objection when a son of the synod preparing for its service enrolled in the Lutheran Theological Seminary at Mount Airy, near Philadelphia. This institution met all the tests of orthodoxy that the Augustana professors could devise. Moreover, during the first thirty years of its existence the synod had little reason to fear that any considerable number of farmers' sons in the Mississippi Valley would brave the ridicule accorded to " green Swedes " by the more sophisticated theological students in remote Philadelphia. But the arm of the General Council was reaching westward and the talk of setting up a theological seminary in Chicago was disturbing. As early as 1872 at the Akron meeting, the General Council passed a resolution inviting the Augustana Synod to unite the theological seminary at Paxton with a proposed new seminary in Chicago. This proposal came at the time when economic difficulties and scarcity of students had convinced the synod of the necessity of moving Augustana Seminary from Paxton. Hasselquist, who had been present as a delegate at the Akron meeting, indorsed the project warmly at the meeting of his synod in 1873. Officially the synod expressed its gratification over the prospect of having a seminary in the West, but rejected affiliation.

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[10] The *Lutheran Companion*, July 6, 1918, has an able editorial and an article by C. J. Södergren with reference to the reasons for the refusal of the Augustana Synod to enter the merger. A pamphlet entitled "Pertinent Reasons Why the Synods of the General Council Should Unanimously Vote in Favor of the 'Merger' and Enter into the United Lutheran Church in America" minimizes the centralizing features and emphasizes synodical autonomy.

In his editorial columns Hasselquist regretted that in the discussion things were said that hurt. He pointed to the great services rendered to the synod by the General Council in the form of financial assistance after the Chicago fire and assistance to Swedish students at the Mount Airy seminary. He argued that the Augustana Synod represented a large part of the General Council, especially in the West, and that a theological seminary in Chicago, therefore, would be one of the best agencies for strengthening the work of the Lutheran church in that section. He went so far as to say that he hoped that the new seminary would be located by the side of their own seminary at its proposed new site in Rock Island.[11]

The official action of the synod was evidently not taken at face value by the General Council leaders, for no seminary was erected in Chicago on the lots donated by William A. Passavant. It was not until 1887 that the project was acted upon. Olof Olsson, himself a professor in Augustana Seminary, wrote a sympathetic account of the General Council meeting, in which he sat as a delegate. He reported that the " touchy " question was settled in a way very satisfactory to the Swedes. The General Council recognized that it was the function of the Augustana Synod to recruit and train men for ministerial service among the Swedes, and understood that the men authorized to set up the Chicago seminary should refrain from interference with that training and avoid everything that might lead to misunderstanding.[12]

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[11] *Augustana-synodens protokoll,* 1873; *Rätta Hamlandet och Augustana,* November, 1872, July, 1873.

When the institution was about to open its doors in the fall of 1891, *Augustana* saluted it with the prophecy that the synod would perhaps come into some conflict with it and with the hope that it would prosper.[13] This statement was typical of the new editor, S. P. A. Lindahl, who had already won the reputation of the master tactician of the synod and had been elected its president for three successive terms, 1881 to 1891. The seminary never won the good will of the Augustana Synod; and the "Weidner seminary," as it was sometimes designated from the name of its first president, was often spoken of slightingly, although M. C. Ranseen, an Augustana man, was for a time a member of its governing board. With the exception of the catholic-minded, erudite, and genial Olsson, who did not shy at "unionism" and even had kind words to say about the Mission Friends, the Augustana Seminary professors persisted in their contention that the synod ought to educate its own pastors. It may be said that since 1897 the synod has discouraged the ordination of men who have taken their entire course of study at seminaries outside its jurisdiction. Though this position was never formally affirmed as a policy, candidates educated in the sister institution are sometimes inclined to think that their road to ordination has special difficulties. The merits of such views, involving as they do questions of educational standards, curriculum, doctrine, spiritual life on campuses, institutional rivalries for students and support, are fortunately not matters on which the historian is called to pass judgment. It is sufficient for this study to record what the evidence shows, that the birth of the Chicago seminary was not an occasion for unmixed rejoicing in the Swedish Lutheran household.

We may now turn to the more congenial task of tracing the rise of the older Augustana Seminary. The story of its origin, history, policies, and central position may also explain in part its attitude toward the later foundation.

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[12] *Hemvännen,* October 15, November 26, 1887.

[13] *Augustana,* August 27, 1891.

The sudden resignation of Esbjörn from the Scandinavian professorship at Illinois State University left him and seven Swedish students educational orphans. At the organization meeting of the Augustana Synod in June, 1860, the Scandinavians, after having adopted a constitution for the seminary, claimed the professorship as their property and resolved that by the incumbent's resignation and migration to Chicago the chair was also transferred, wherefore Esbjörn was declared to be professor of Scandinavian and theology in Augustana Seminary in Chicago. Since they claimed the professorship as their own, it followed that the endowment fund collected through the instrumentality of Esbjörn belonged to them; and a committee was appointed to visit Springfield to obtain the money, documents, and papers pertaining to it. The long-drawn-out negotiations inaugurated by this motion reflect little credit on either side. The Synod of Northern Illinois, however, had its own claim to present to the Swedes. It was alleged that the Education Society for the support of indigent students was saddled with a debt of a thousand dollars, most of which amount had been doled out to Scandinavians. The Springfield people insisted that the Scandinavians' portions of this debt should be liquidated before the principal of the endowment fund was paid over. Fortunately for the Swedes, seven hundred and fifty dollars of this fund was in the form of a mortgage on the property of the Immanuel congregation in Chicago. After three years of acrimonious correspondence and synodical resolutions, this episode terminated in the surrender by the university of the principal of the mortgage after the deduction of two years' interest; thus the initial endowment of Augustana Seminary was six hundred dollars.[14] In the meantime O. C. T. Andrén had succeeded in obtaining a fund of some ten thousand dollars in Sweden and the gift of a library from His Majesty.

Another incident, unimportant in itself but significant in showing the dire financial distress of the infant seminary, is concerned with the Jenny Lind fund at Capital University, Columbus, Ohio, which the singer had given in 1852 to endow a Scandinavian professorship at that institution. The Augustana Synod had no difficulty in persuading the trustees of Capital University to promise to transfer the sum to Augustana Seminary, but to this day it is more or less of a mystery what became of the money. There is some evidence that William M. Reynolds was the ultimate beneficiary, that financial exigencies led the board of trustees to apply the sum on his salary as president. Cognizant of the fact that the Augustana Synod had no legal claim to the money, Hasselquist wrote to Wieselgren at Gothenburg asking him to request the donor, then Mrs. Jenny Lind Goldschmidt, to write to Capital University and ask that the money be transferred. Mrs. Goldschmidt replied to her good friend Wieselgren that she had totally forgotten the Columbus affair and that even after his reminder she had only a vague recollection of it. She promised to ask the Ohio people to do what was legally right, but, in order not to say anything not grounded in fact, awaited the return of a person who had knowledge of the circumstances.[15] To what effect the prima donna may have been advised to write, or whether or not she wrote at all, is not revealed by the available records; but there is no lack of documentary evidence that Jenny Lind's donation of fifteen hundred dollars was never paid into the treasury of Augustana Seminary.

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[14] For details, with citations, see Stephenson, *The Founding of the Augustana Synod,* 140–148, and "The Founding of the Augustana Synod: Illustrative Documents," *Swedish-American Historical Bulletin,* March, 1928, pp. 43–52.

From the beginning it was understood that Chicago was not to be the permanent home of Augustana Seminary. It was housed there in temporary quarters, and the task of finding a suitable location was left for the most part to Hasselquist and Carlsson. They believed that the Scandinavians should found a settlement with an educational institution as its center, more or less as the Oberlin colony had done in Ohio. In this they were perhaps following the advice of Passavant, who believed that an exclusively Scandinavian colony would allow them to work out a system of education from the parochial school to the seminary without outside opposition or interference. He had in mind, no doubt, the experience of Illinois State University; there the citizens of Springfield had a voice in determining the policy of the institution.[16] Locations in Iowa, Wisconsin, and Minnesota, more or less complicated by land and railway schemes, were under consideration for a time, but the choice finally fell upon Paxton, Ford County, Illinois.[17] At the meeting of the synod in June, 1863, the board of directors of the seminary reported that a contract had been drawn up with the Illinois Central Railroad, containing this agreement: the company agreed to sell a thousand acres of land to the seminary at six dollars an acre and to pay a commission of one dollar an acre on the first thirty thousand acres sold through the agency of the seminary and fifty cents an acre on the second thirty thousand, providing that ten thousand acres were sold the first year, the seminary moved to Paxton, and the commission applied in payment of the thousand acres and the erection and maintenance of the institution. A citizen of New York agreed to donate a tract of forty acres for the site of the seminary.

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[15] The following letters are in the Wieselgren papers in Gothenburg: Hasselquist to Wieselgren, December 9, 1868, April 1, 1869, May 5, 1871; Jenny Lind Goldschmidt to Wieselgren, June 8, 1869.

Augustana Seminary began its first academic year at Paxton in 1863. In the meantime, Esbjörn, who was opposed to the removal from Chicago, had resigned the presidency and returned to Sweden to re-enter the established church; and Hasselquist, who had assumed the pastorate of the newly organized congregation in Paxton, had been elected as his successor. Esbjörn seems never to have won the confidence of Hasselquist and it appears that the return of the former to his fatherland was caused, at least in part, by his knowledge that Hasselquist was destined to overshadow him and to become the leader. Waldenström, O. C. T. Andrén, and Sven L. Bring, all of Sweden, declined calls to the faculty successively, and year after year Hasselquist was elected to the presidency until his tenure was tacitly, if not formally, regarded as permanent. It is impossible to think of anyone else who would have been equally competent for the place, in spite of the fact that with advancing years there was an inevitable loss of the old vigor in leadership. His principles were in the main sound, although he was no financier, and if money had been available

[16] Carlsson to Hasselquist, January 2, 1861; Passavant to Hasselquist, November 18, 1861, September 24, 1862.

[17] *Protokoll,* 1862, report of the board of directors of Augustana Seminary.

and other conditions satisfactory, his contribution to the education program of the synod would probably have been notable.

It has always been the contention of many that the removal of the synodical institution from Chicago was a colossal mistake; that Chicago was and still is one of the most important, if not the most important, of Swedish centers. However that may be, it was quickly perceived that the seminary would not prosper in Paxton. In the first academic year three Norwegian and two Swedish students constituted the total enrollment; in the year 1868–69 forty-eight students were reported; and in 1874–75, the last academic year at Paxton, the total number was eighty-nine. Not only was the enrollment disappointing, but the hope of attracting a large settlement of Swedes was never realized. Nor was the income from the sale of land encouraging. Finally, Paxton was remote from the Swedish settlements and difficult of access. As early as 1869 the synod decided that the successful future of the institution necessitated its removal, and accordingly it accepted the tentative offer of citizens of Geneseo, Illinois, to donate forty thousand dollars and ten acres of land if it were located in that city. The "Paxton period," however, had marked some progress. The faculty had been strengthened, and by the new charter of 1865 the institution had taken the name Augustana College and Theological Seminary, although the first class, in which one of the graduates was a son of President Hasselquist, was not graduated until 1877.[18]

The choice of a location was as vexatious the second time as the first. Hasselquist favored Andover as in all respects the most suitable place, provided it got a railroad, which it never did.[19] Geneseo was eliminated when its citizens by a majority of forty-two votes declined to raise the required sum. Altona and Galva were other candidates. Sidney L. Harkey, English professor in the college, who had secured the conditional promise from Geneseo, prepared an appeal to the citizens of Galva, but no attractive offers resulted. The synod in 1870 empowered the board of directors to move the institution to Knox, Henry,

[18] A booklet, *After Seventy Years* (Rock Island, 1930), gives pictures illustrative of the development of the "building program."

[19] Hasselquist to Passavant, August 19, 1870. *Det Rätta Hemlandet och Augustana,* 1870 ff., has a wealth of material on the "school question."

or Rock Island County, provided twenty thousand dollars and twenty acres of land were donated. Two years later the directors were instructed to investigate the possibilities of obtaining a site in or near Rock Island and Moline, these cities being accessible by rail from the principal Swedish communities. Accordingly, a committee was appointed to cooperate with the board of directors, with the result that practically everything was turned over to Henry Reck, who had succeeded Harkey. A twenty-acre tract of land on an eminence between the two cities, named by the owners "Zion's Hill," was purchased for ten thousand dollars, without any inducement from the citizens. Reck solicited subscriptions in the tri-city, but the response, which was disappointing, fulfilled the prophecy of Hasselquist that little could be expected because the community could derive little advantage from an institution supported by immigrants and Lutherans.[20] Thus in the fateful year of 1873, when the country lay under the pall of a financial crisis, the corner stone was laid, on November 7, of a building that still stands as a dilapidated monument to faith.

Zion's Hill was a busy place on the days preceding the dedication of the building on October 15, 1875. Faculty and students had arrived in September before the building was ready for occupancy, and it was necessary, therefore, to house the students in homes. Students raked, laid sidewalks, scrubbed floors, and washed windows. Farmers came from Andover, Swedona, and other communities with teams to grade the property. Food for the guests at the festivities poured in from the surrounding country, and women from the two cities took charge of the kitchen.[21] Augustana College and Theological Seminary at last had a permanent home, although several efforts to move it have been made since those happy days.

During those years of civil war and hard times Swedish Lutherans established and maintained another educational institution. From the beginning the people in Minnesota had been conscious that a vast distance separated them from their

[20] Hasselquist to Wieselgren, May 6, 1869; *Illinois Swede,* Galva, July 17, 1869, May 28, June 18, 25, 1870; *Rätta Hemlandet och Augustana,* February–March, April, September, November, 1873; *Protokoll* for these years. The subscription list of Professor Reck is in the Augustana College Library.

[21] Reminiscences of an Augustana pastor, in *Ungdomsvännen,* October 15, 1883.

brethren on the other side of the Mississippi, and had felt justly that their interests were slighted by the Synod of Northern Illinois and later by the Augustana Synod. On this subject friction developed between Hasselquist, a believer in centralization, and Norelius, the pioneer leader in Minnesota. In the belief that a school within its borders would partly relieve the dearth of missionaries and teachers, the Minnesota Conference in October, 1862, authorized Erik Norelius to instruct such young men as the congregations might send to him to prepare themselves as teachers in English and Swedish schools. Accordingly, in the winter of 1862 and 1863, Norelius instructed a class of eleven young men at Red Wing. At the beginning of the next academic year Andrew Jackson was elected president. Although the influential leaders in the synod were quite naturally jealous in guarding the interests of the shaky institution in Illinois and dubious about the ability of the Swedes to support another institution, the synod in June, 1863, ratified the constitution drawn up by its own committee and approved the choice of East Union in Carver County for the " permanent " location. In addition the synod authorized the delegates from the Minnesota Conference present at the synodical meeting to elect the board of directors of *Minnesota Elementar Skola,* as it was called until 1867, when the name was changed to St. Ansgar's Academy. Although the academy was under the direct control of the Minnesota Conference, for a number of years its management reported to the synod, which merely ratified or approved its actions.

The first home of the East Union school was a log church, which was subsequently purchased and removed to property belonging to the conference. The number of students fluctuated during the year and from year to year. A novel form of endowment was devised: the school took over and operated a flour mill. This functioned until the mills at Minneapolis furnished more competition than an ecclesiastical grist mill was able to meet. The greatest obstacle to the success of the experiment was lack of funds. Having a constituency of pioneer farmers, some of whom had not proved up their preemption and homestead claims, the institution realized very little from personal subscriptions, and the synodical treasury was in no condition to furnish doles. East Union was even less suitable for an academy than Paxton, which, although remote from Swedish settlements, at least had a railway, an advantage of which the Minnesota " education center " could not boast. It seems likely that if Augustana College had removed from Paxton to a place acceptable to the Minnesota Conference, these two educational projects of the synod might have been consolidated. As it was, there was no intention of abandoning a Minnesota school, and a seminary was even discussed. Nothing would have pleased Hasselquist better than the death of St. Ansgar's at the time when Augustana College was casting about for a new location and considering ways and means of securing funds for the erection of a building on Zion's Hill. The temper of Minnesota was such that the synod relieved the conference of any obligation to contribute to the building fund. If the synod had not handled it diplomatically, the conference might have seceded. This was not to be the last time threats of secession were to come from the Minnesota Conference, in which Peter Sjöblom played the rôle of Jefferson Davis.

In any event, it was plain by 1872 that East Union was an impossible location, and in that year a committee was appointed to take the situation under advisement. It recommended removal of the school to Minneapolis and affiliation with the University of Minnesota. The conference school was to rank as an academy and give courses in Christianity, which would be supplemented by courses of collegiate grade given by the university. Strangely enough, Erik Norelius, who could say harsh things about the un-Christian character of the state schools, favored this arrangement. But it was not to be. The panic of 1873 confirmed the doubts of many as to the expediency of the arrangement. If the choice had fallen upon one of the Twin Cities, however, a long and often acrimonious chapter in the history of the Minnesota Conference would have been averted.

In the fall of 1876, in a building erected on a bluff higher and steeper than Zion's Hill, an institution calling itself Gustavus Adolphus College opened its doors in St. Peter, a town whose population was predominantly German and Catholic. By obtaining a guarantee of ten thousand dollars and twenty acres of land, Anders Thorson, a farmer, was instrumental in bringing the conference to accept this location. With Norelius as president of the Augustana Synod from 1874 to 1881, the Minnesota Conference held the whip hand and was free to go its own way in preparing for a collegiate institution. But the propitious time for this development did not come until 1881, when Matthias Wahlström, an abler man than his predecessors, Andrew Jackson and John P. Nyquist, assumed the presidency. The staff was undermanned and untrained at that time, and the complete four-year course was not added until 1889.[22]

The citizens of Carver County and their partisans were just as little pleased at the loss of their school as the citizens of Paxton had been, and they showed their displeasure more decidedly. When a new pastor came to East Union in 1882, he secured the consent of the conference to conduct a school in the old academy building. The situation was further complicated by the agitation to have the school removed from St. Peter to Minneapolis, and the pastor of the Augustana congregation offered the basement of his church for that purpose. The East Union school was discontinued in 1885 and the other proposition never materialized. But many years were to elapse before the "school question" in the Minnesota Conference was settled, if, indeed, it has ever been settled.

At the beginning of its third decade the Augustana Synod, with a communicant membership of seventy-five thousand, had two educational institutions with a combined enrollment of only about two hundred. It was an era of experimentation, which was only just beginning. Before it was finished it spelled disaster for the synod and nearly wrecked the whole educational program. During the next two decades a veritable "college mania" seized the Swedish Lutherans, and it was not until the World War and the years of depression after its close that the fever was checked. During the first two decades, however, the educational lines that were followed later were fairly well marked out. Every congregation aspired to conduct a parochial school. Some of the larger congregations for a time competed with the public schools by employing a teacher for about nine months of the year, but these schools were few and were discontinued after a few years. Their purpose was to supply the alleged deficiencies of the public schools by giving instruction in religion and Swedish. But very few laymen shared the pastor's fear of the state schools. Moreover, the added expense caused the pioneer farmers to avoid them. The so-called parochial school in the Augustana Synod came to be a brief summer session taught by the pastor or a student, ostensibly instructing in the principles of the Christian religion but actually serving as " Swede schools," by which name they were popularly known.

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[22] Anders, The Early History of the Swedish Religious Organizations in Minnesota; *The Beginnings and Progress of the Minnesota Conference*, Minneapolis, 1929, pp. 67–91; Theodore Kjellgren, "Gustavus Adolphus College," *Ungdomsvännen*, April, 1896; M. Wahlström, "Gustavus Adolphus College," *Northland Magazine*, Minneapolis, April, 1898; K. A. Kilander, "Minnesota-konferensens tidigare skolverksamhet," *Prärieblomman*, 1905, pp. 121–136; Conrad Peterson, "Gustavus Adolphus College," *Prärieblomman*, 1913, pp. 43–67; A. Schön, "Anders Thorson," *Prärieblomman*, 1909, pp. 250–252; communication from John Olson, in *Skaffaren och Minnesota Stats Tidning*, March 14, 1883; *Skaffaren*, 1879 ff.

Most of the students at Augustana College, St. Ansgar's Academy, and Gustavus Adolphus College in the first twenty years were young men who had had a smattering of education in Sweden and had worked on farms or engaged in other unskilled labor in America until the call to " preach Christ " brought them to the preparatory department, where they were taught the common branches of knowledge and the rudiments of English. The academy really gave a course leading up to the seminary. Then followed the theological courses. In spite of the fact that the catalogues announced " departments," there was really no dividing line. A student might stand with one foot in the preparatory department and the other in the theological seminary. It was assumed that a " student " was headed for the ministry and in the congregations he was clothed with all the prerogatives of the privileged student in Sweden, with the important difference that the white-capped student at Uppsala or Lund was not expected to earn his education by the sweat of his brow, whereas the Augustana Synod man was expected to chop wood, husk corn, and milk cows. And the more efficiency he exhibited in these arts, the more favorably was he treated and fed by the daughter of the prosperous farmer. The latter was entirely willing to have a ministerial son-in-law, provided his hands were calloused. Not until the eighties were " business boys " and " music students " added to the population of the campus, much to the chagrin of many members of the cloth.

CHAPTER XXIII

DECENTRALIZING TENDENCIES IN THE AUGUSTANA SYNOD FROM 1880 TO 1900

AS IT increased in membership and in area, extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific, the Augustana Synod became unwieldy. As early as the beginning of the seventies there arose the question of division into independent districts, and in the early nineties it reached its culmination. A mild form in which conference and sectional particularism showed itself was the agitation for larger conference autonomy and the reduction of the synod to the status of the General Synod, that is, of an advisory body. From the beginning the synod had a loose organization and according to the dictates of expediency individual congregations often disregarded synodical legislation. In politics the Swedes were bred-in-the-bone Civil War Republicans, but in church affairs they were state-rights Democrats, favoring a weak central government. In their attitude toward the institutions maintained by the synod and its conferences Jacksonian Democracy predominated. Not only were they opposed to clothing the administrative boards of institutions with adequate power, but they insisted on electing faculty members in seminary, college, and academy on the floor of synod and conference. In the conventions of the conference each congregation was represented by the pastor and a layman. The same regulation governed the membership of the synod assembled in convention until the conference became the unit in 1894, after which time delegates, lay and clerical, were apportioned to each on the basis of communicant membership. As in every body, the influence of a few largely determined the policy of synod and conference; but the rotation of lay delegates from year to year and of clerical delegates after 1894 made it difficult to pursue any major policy with consistency. Synod and conference, composed of inexperienced persons, have been weak and ineffective legislative bodies. Until recent years the synodical council, which is really the executive committee of the synod — all the conferences being equally represented — was not clothed with adequate power, and nominations and elections to important boards and committees were more or less hit or miss. In very recent years a printed ballot of candidates nominated by the synodical council has been placed in the hands of delegates.

From the beginning, as we have seen, the region of strongest opposition to centralization was the Minnesota Conference, the oldest conference in the synod except that of Illinois. For many years one of the most influential members of the synodical council was Peter Sjöblom, a man from Minnesota possessing strong sectional patriotism. He represented the extreme left and often openly threatened secession. It was he who pushed through the sale of the property and business of the Swedish Lutheran Publication Society to the firm of Engberg, Holmberg, and Lindell, aided and abetted by Norelius, also of Minnesota, and Erland Carlsson, at the synodical convention in 1874. This drastic action was defended on the ground that the publishing business brought no income and that from its sale money could be obtained to save Augustana College. According to Norelius, it was better to sell the publication society than to let the college die.[1]

In a sense, the Augustana Synod had no official organ until the close of 1889. A beginning was made in the early part of 1874 when *Det Rätta Hemlandet och Augustana, Missionären, Luthersk Kyrkotidning,* and *Nytt och Gammalt* were consolidated under the name *Augustana.* A competitor, *Missionären,* which appeared the next year, was consolidated with it in 1879 under the name *Augustana och Missionären.* Within the next decade two rivals appeared: *Ungdomsvännen* in 1879 and *Hemvännen* in 1887. In December, 1889, these two papers were consolidated with *Augustana och Missionären* under the title *Augustana,* which today remains the official

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[1] Aron Edström, "Peter Sjöblom," *Prärieblomman,* 1910, pp. 150–167; Norelius, *Hasselquist,* 187–188; *Framåt,* June 23, 1888. This transaction will be discussed in the following chapter.

Swedish organ of the Augustana Synod.[2] Papers representing special points of view and engaging in bitter polemics with the synodical organ during S. P. A. Lindahl's editorship from 1891 to 1908 arose from time to time, the most aggressive of them being *Framåt* and *Fosterlandet*. The former, edited by Carl A. Swensson, was published in the interest of Bethany College and of the Swedes in Kansas and was merged with *Fosterlandet* in 1891. Under the pseudonym "Leopold," Swensson wrote breezy columns from Kansas, and for a time it appeared that the Kansas gale would demolish Augustana College as a synodical institution. It seemed likely, at least, to send it on its way to Chicago, where Carl A. Evald, son-in-law of Erland Carlsson and pastor of his old Immanuel congregation, over the signature "Urbanus" was insisting on the need of a college. Both "Leopold" and "Urbanus" believed that the seminary should be the only educational institution under synodical ownership and control.[3]

The original idea was undoubtedly to have a theological seminary and a single college, both existing for the sole purpose of preparing men for the ministry. This conception of the function of church colleges has persisted to the present time among certain pastors and laymen, who have deplored the "invasion" of Americans and of students of other faiths, and has greatly hampered their development. It was the contention of Swensson and others that this stage had been outgrown in the course of the synod's territorial expansion, and that only the seminary should be held in common. Colleges and academies under conference control, he believed, should serve as "feeders," and the curricula should appeal to men and women preparing for the various walks of life. Hasselquist watched with dismay the growth of this idea; but by the time he laid down the pilgrim's staff in 1891 there was good reason to expect that Augustana College would cease to be a synodical institution. Hasselquist consistently maintained that the Swedish Lutherans could not support more than one first-class college in competition with the state universities; nor did he believe in a college education for everybody. He favored the retention of the academies that had already been established and the founding of new ones in California, northern Michigan, and Rockford.[4] In the light of developments since his time, Hasselquist must be credited with unusually clear vision and sound judgment. Erland Carlsson and Olof Olsson shared Hasselquist's views.[5]

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[2] The genealogical tree of *Augustana* is printed in *Minnesskrift*, Rock Island, 1910, p. 451.

[3] *Fosterlandet*, May 31, June 6, 1894.

The " college mania " that beset the Augustana Synod in the eighties and nineties was a symptom as well as a cause of the trend toward decentralization. A new generation of leaders had come into prominence, and Hasselquist was losing his grip. Josua Lindahl, professor of natural science in Augustana College, publicly and privately stated that the discipline and instruction in the institution were loose and that it was torn with pettiness, discord, and jealousy.[6] As a result of the purchase of the property at Rock Island and the erection of the building, the college was saddled with a debt that amounted to over twenty-seven thousand dollars in 1878. In an effort to remove this incumbrance Olof Olsson, a professor in the seminary, was appointed solicitor. He visited many congregations and established a paper, *Skolwännen,* which was published intermittently for a number of years, and by the end of the seventies the major portion of the indebtedness had been wiped out.[7]

The finances of the institution, however, continued to be precarious. There was no endowment. The income was derived from a levy of twenty-five cents a communicant, from tuition, from annual payments made by Engberg, Holmberg, and Lindell in liquidation of the purchase of the synodical publication house, from the purchasers of *Hemlandet,* from the net profit derived from the publication of *Augustana,* and from earnings on real estate holdings in and around Paxton. After the establishment of the Augustana Book Concern, a percentage of the net profits of this new venture in publication accrued to the college and seminary, as well as certain royalties.[8]

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[4] *Augustana,* May 1, 1890.

[5] *Hemvännen,* July 23, 1887.

[6] *Augustana,* June 19, 1890; Ernst Skarstedt, *Vagabond och redaktör,* p. 290. Hilma Angered Strandberg's *På prärien* (Stockholm, 1898) is a novel portraying the pettiness and jealousy among the faculty families at Augustana College. It is bitter in tone and reflects the attitude of Josua Lindahl.

[7] Olsson rendered statements of the progress of his campaign in *Skolwännen.* See especially the file for 1878.

The prosperous eighties brought optimism and a new building, a large and imposing sandstone structure, but there it stood at the opening of the year 1887, without windows, doors, or floors. Pessimism succeeded the optimism that had reigned at the commencement exercises of 1885, when Philander L. Cable, the railroad magnate, rode to the campus with a gift of twenty-five thousand dollars. The venerable Hasselquist ran around like a boy and at the railway station people assembled to spread the glad news to the guests as they arrived.[9] When spirits were again at low ebb, Olsson revived *Skolwännen* in 1887 and appealed to the pride of his countrymen, asking for a contribution of fifty cents from each member of the synod. " Would that we could once more become one people, with a single heart and soul in our common institution! " he said. " Is it possible that our dear daughters in St. Peter, Lindsborg, and Wahoo will oppose such a festival of solidarity and good will? " He lamented that people passing on trains and street cars would point to the building and remark that the Augustana Synod had failed to complete what it had set out to do.

He was successful, and by the beginning of the next year some of the classrooms were ready for occupancy. In order to arouse the interest of the citizens of the three cities, several of the most prominent among them were invited to inspect the new structure. In the unfinished chapel President Hasselquist bade them welcome and members of the faculty told them about the curricula and ideals of the institution. The students gave rousing cheers for the visitors and the band played as they filed out.[10] In spite of an onerous debt and signs of ill will from the conferences on the periphery, the building, without its dome, was dedicated on June 12, 1889, with Carl A. Swensson, president of the ambitious rival institution, Bethany College of Lindsborg, Kansas, the orator of the occasion.[11] Only a master politician could have risen to the occasion under such circumstances. It is now in order to turn our attention to the educational experiment of this Lindsborg prophet.

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[8] Tancred Boissy (H. A. Peters), *Svenska nationaliteten i Förenta Staterna deras sociala och kyrkliga förhållanden, hemlif och ekonomiska ställning. Reproduction af korrespondenser till Sydsvenska Dagbl. Snällposten,* Gothenburg, 1882, p. 23; *Skolwännen,* May 8, 1878; *Ungdomsvännen,* June 17, 1885.

[9] *Ungdomsvännen,* June 17, 1885. *Skolwännen, September* 12, 1883, ran a cut of the proposed building that was somewhat like the structure finally erected; but instead of the unsightly dome that was added later a tower with a clock appeared. The Denkmann heirs, who made possible the erection of a beautiful memorial library at a cost of about two hundred and fifty thousand dollars, and Mr. Cable were the only persons among the wealthy citizens of the three cities who have made substantial donations. The present gymnasium, which serves also as an auditorium, was paid for through the generosity of the residents of the three cities.

Carl Aaron Swensson was born in Sugar Grove, Pennsylvania, on June 25, 1857, the son of Jonas Swensson, one of the "fathers" of the Augustana Synod. The following year his parents moved to Andover, where the future college president spent his boyhood. Jonas Swensson was very "Swedish" and the son was brought up to love Sweden and its history, culture, and traditions. When he matriculated at Augustana College in 1873, he harbored a certain contempt for the English language and all things American. In spite of this, however, he became intensely American and perhaps did as much as any individual to facilitate the transition from Swedish to English. He graduated from Augustana College in 1877 and was ordained into the ministry two years later. While a student in the seminary he had visited the settlements in the Smoky Hill Valley, where he immediately won the admiration of the pioneers. Upon the departure of Olof Olsson to become theological professor at Rock Island, Swensson was called to serve the congregation at Lindsborg, which appointment he accepted upon his ordination in 1879. Here he remained until his sudden death in 1904, and during a quarter of a century was the Lindsborg community's all in all. He founded Bethany College and made Lindsborg the cultural center of the Swedes in Kansas and in the Southwest.

The story is told of a Swedish immigrant who upon beholding the wonders of New York City in the nineties exclaimed: "If this is New York, think what Lindsborg must be!" The story may be apocryphal, but it is certainly true that in the person of Swensson, Lindsborg had the best press agent of any Swedish community. This preacher, editor, teacher, college president, lecturer, politician, and promoter is the most striking personality among the Swedish churchmen in America. He literally put Lindsborg "on the map" and, unlike most of his brother pastors, won popularity in both Sweden and America. Moreover, he was the first of the American-born clergymen to rise to eminence. It is true that his voluminous polemical articles and editorials and the breezy and boastful communications and speeches raised up a host of enemies, some of them animated by envy and jealousy, and that there was much amusement over the "puffs" from windy Kansas. It is true that sometimes he wrote before he thought and that he was deficient in scholarship and educational statesmanship; but some of his ideas were in advance of those of most of his adversaries and his influence was wholesome in jolting the synod out of its complacency and conservatism.

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[10] *Skolwännen,* April 27, May 11, October 31, 1887; *Hemvännen,* April 14, 1888.

[11] C. A. Swensson, *Address at the Dedication of the New College Building of Augustana College, Rock Island, Ill., June 12, 1889,* Topeka, 1889.

An amateur in finance, like his friend Olof Olsson, and a naïve optimist, he was easy prey for colonization schemers, who used his influence for selfish purposes. Usually the sharks got the money and Swensson the blame. Politically he was ambitious and as a campaign spellbinder was in great demand. He was equally fluent in Swedish and English, although he had some difficulty with his *j*'s and *s*'s. He was elected to the Kansas legislature as a "stand-pat" Republican. His blasts against the Populists who carried everything before them in his state were both unbecoming to a churchman and unjust. He also made statements against other churches that do not read well today and that did not sound well at the time of delivery. His books, *I Sverige, Åter i Sverige,* and *Vid hemmets härd,* are not distinguished by profundity of thought. In appearance he was impressive; he was large in stature, had a high forehead, and abounded in nervous energy. Though he made use of some of the methods of the demagogue, he was nevertheless democratic and warm-hearted, a friend of humanity, and he succeeded in being intensely American without forgetting the heritage that Sweden had given him through his parents and his church. Seen in perspective after twenty-five years, he stands out as a great figure, with the credit side of his ledger more than balancing the other pages.[12]

The first step in the founding of Bethany College was taken in 1879, shortly after Swensson assumed the pastorate of the Bethany congregation, when this body decided to sell certain lots belonging to it and to devote one-half of the proceeds to the establishment of a preparatory school. Nothing further was done, however, until 1881. The pastors in the Smoky Hill district supplied encouragement, and the school opened in Bethany Church; but not a single student appeared on the first day before the teacher, Johan August Udden, graduated that year at Augustana College and destined to become a geologist of note. One by one the farmer boys of Kansas arrived, however, and before the close of the year twenty-seven students were on the rolls. Udden taught every subject in the curriculum with the exception of Bible and church history, which were handled by Swensson. In the earliest years Swensson assumed the entire financial risk. In 1882 he purchased an old schoolhouse, which was moved to a lot donated by the congregation, and that summer the Smoky Hill district took over Bethany Academy. A board of directors was elected, new teachers were added, and the membership of the student body increased. Impressed with the progress of the academy, the Kansas Conference in 1884 adopted it and Luther Academy at Wahoo, Nebraska, with the understanding that the mission districts in proximity should contribute to the Lindsborg institution. The following year a more ambitious name, Bethany Normal Institute, was adopted, to indicate that the primary purpose of the school was to train teachers. In 1886 a college department was added and the name was changed to Bethany College and Normal Institute, which in the following year was housed in a new building. In the meantime a "business college," a conservatory of music, and a model school to instruct children in Swedish enlarged the faculty and the student body, and in 1890 an art department was added.

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[12] Ernst Skarstedt, "Läroverkspresidenten Carl Swensson," *Prärieblomman,* 1905, pp. 77–93; J. E. Floren, "Dr Carl Aaron Swensson," *Korsbaneret,* 1905, pp. 175–193; Bergin, *Lindsborg efter femtio år,* 71–76. In addition to writing the books and newspapers noted in the text, Swensson was the joint editor with L. G. Abrahamson of *Jubel-album* (Chicago, 1893) and with Olof Olsson of the early numbers of *Korsbaneret.* He was editor and publisher of *Lindsborgs-Posten, Lindsborg Record,* and *Pedagogen. Framåt* was a continuation of the last-named paper.

Not to be outdone by the ambitious and bold Kansans, Augustana College expanded. It could not allow it to be rumored that " Prästa Kalle " had a larger establishment than its own. Accordingly, in 1885 a conservatory of music was added to Augustana; in 1888 a commercial department; and in 1894 two courses for the normal department, one with Swedish for training parochial school teachers and the other without Swedish. The delegates to the synodical meeting in 1888 felt dubious about the commercial department and a motion was made to rescind the action of the previous meeting authorizing it. The faculty and several pastors opposed the innovation because it would lower the morale of the college.[13]

But Bethany College, with its imposing departments listed in the catalogue and its book concern established to advertise Bethany and Kansas, certainly did not hide its light under a bushel so long as Swensson was president (1889–1904), and the other schools took it for a model.[14] Naturally there was no little jealousy of the noisy Kansas child. It was alleged that Bethany Book Concern had been established to injure the synodical publication house, Augustana Book Concern. *Augustana,* edited by S. P. A. Lindahl, charged that Swensson had " coached " the editor of *Fosterlandet* to " write down " Augustana College that Bethany might prosper, in reply to which allegation the editor of the latter sheet asserted that Lindahl was a weather vane. He became sarcastic over the advertisement of Augustana College as " our oldest, largest, and best educational institution." [15] It was argued that since Bethany

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[13] *Ungdomsvännen,* November 4, 1885, June 25, 1887; *Framåt,* June 30, 1888; *Alumnus,* March, 1894.

[14] For the history of Bethany College, see *Förgät-mig-ej. Årskalender utgifven af Bethany College,* Rock Island, 1902; G. A. Andreen, " The Story of Bethany," *Alumnus,* May, 1893; Carl Swensson, " Huru Bethany College blef till," *Prärieblomman,* 1903, pp. 76–86; Ernst Pihlblad, " Ett trettioårigt svensk-amerikanskt kulturarbete," *Prärieblomman,* 1913, pp. 105–119; J. A. Udden, " Minnen från min tid i Lindsborg," *Lindsborg efter femtio år,* 176–182. The sketch of Bethany College by Swensson in *Jubel-album,* 1893, pp. 142–159, is typical of the author's work. It contains statistical tables and a fund of information.

[15] *Framåt,* June 2, 1888; *Fosterlandet,* April 27, May 25, 1892; *Augustana,* June 2, 1892. The polemical warfare between Swensson and Lindahl in the columns of *Augustana, Framåt,* and *Fosterlandet* continued into the next century. In 1891 Lindahl's enemies, among whom Sjöblom was the most relentless, succeeded in preventing his re-election to the presidency of the synod.

College had come into the world "irregularly," it could wait to pay its debt until the Augustana College incumbrance had been liquidated. Nevertheless, Swensson and his co-workers continued to write, preach, and travel. A Texas land company offered to donate twenty-five thousand dollars to Bethany if the board of directors and friends of the institution would assist in the sale of fifty thousand acres of land. A committee sent to inspect the property made a favorable report, and Swensson appealed to the people of the synod to invest their capital in the Lone Star State.[16]

Bethany College was not the only competitor of Augustana. By 1890 the Swedish Lutherans were trying to support Augustana College, Gustavus Adolphus College, Bethany College, Luther Academy at Wahoo, Nebraska, Hope Academy at Moorhead, Minnesota, and Emanuel Academy at Minneapolis; and in 1893 Upsala College in Brooklyn, New York, and Martin Luther College in Chicago were added. With the exception of Upsala College, which from the beginning was the property of the New York Conference, these institutions were started by individuals or by mission districts within conferences. All of them aspired to become colleges and Bethany was their pattern. They usually repeated, in its general outlines, the course of the Paxton experiment, sojourning in the basement of a church or in rented quarters until a "promoter" came along with a real estate project. It need hardly be added that there was very little or no equipment and that the faculty was small and usually incompetent. The revenue from tuition was small and the salaries of the faculty were often in arrears, for the funds of the institutions were comprised of subscriptions solicited by financial agents, usually pastors. The partisans of Augustana College charged that the standards at Bethany were low; but if they were, the same could be said of every institution up to the close of the first decade of the present century and of some of them throughout their histories. The presidents were burdened with administrative duties, teaching, and financial worries, and the faculty members were underpaid and saddled with an appalling teaching load. Students, especially those destined for the ministry, were admitted without due consideration and permitted to carry unreasonable programs. The effect upon the candidate's training is apparent and inevitable.

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[16] J. Telleen, "Bör barnet dö?" *Augustana,* July 31, 1890; Swensson, in *Augustana,* September 17, 1891.

The result of this policy has been a ministry too often lacking adequate training and understanding of the purpose and character of a sound education. Partly because of this situation and partly because of heavy pastoral duties, scholars have been few among the clergy in Swedish-American churches. In the eighties and nineties, when Hasselquist, Olsson, and Revere F. Weidner were on the faculty, the seminary, from the standpoint of scholarship, reached its highest development. During the presidency of Hasselquist several efforts were made to secure men of university training from Sweden. Frequently, however, pastors of mature years, without a single distinguished product of research to their credit, have been elected theological professors solely upon the basis of several years' service in congregations, sometimes in rural districts. The election of professors on the floor of the synod has given men with honorary degrees the advantage over younger men with greater ability but without such factitious distinctions, whose names have not even been proposed. With but one exception, no theological professor in the last thirty years has possessed a bona fide Ph.D. degree, and critics of the seminary have pointed out that none has had a distinguished book of research to his credit.[17] In partial explanation it must be noted that the summer vacations of the professors have often been spent as supply pastors in congregations. Some pastors, and even professors, have looked askance at universities. This situation is perhaps inevitable in an immigrant church, in which the educational problem is most difficult. The ideals of Hasselquist and Olsson still remain unattained but not forgotten.

Luther Academy was born of the desire of the pastors and pioneers in Nebraska for a high school. At a mission meeting in York a committee was appointed to sound the congregations in Saunders County. This action aroused the congregations in other counties. Meetings were held and subscription lists were circulated. The problem of the location of the school finally

[17] In 1930 Conrad Bergendoff was elected by the board of directors as professor and dean to succeed the late Conrad Emil Lindberg. Bergendoff studied at American and European universities and obtained his doctorate at the University of Chicago.

resolved itself into a contest between Wahoo, Stromsborg, and Saronville. Wahoo bid four thousand dollars and ten acres of land; Stromsborg doubled the tract of land and added two thousand dollars to the bid of its rival. Finally it was decided at a meeting attended by delegates from the Nebraska congregations that the town receiving two-thirds of the votes should be chosen. So intense was the feeling that sixteen ballots were taken without success, and the delegates resorted to prayer. The seventeenth ballot gave the prize to Wahoo. A frame building costing fifty-eight hundred dollars was erected and the institution, Luther Academy, opened its doors in the fall of 1883. The following year it became an institution of the Kansas Conference, and later, when the Nebraska Conference seceded after a period of considerable acrimony, it became the property of the latter body. In 1909 the name was altered to Luther College, under which designation it functions today as a junior college.[18]

The increasing strength of the New York Conference brought Upsala College into the world in the "jubilee year" of 1893. It had been expected that the institution would be located in a building belonging to a recently organized congregation in Brooklyn, but when at the beginning of the academic year the use of the building was refused, it found shelter in the basement of another Brooklyn church. A donation of about fifteen acres of land from an industrial association brought it to Kenilworth, New Jersey, in 1898. In 1902 a collegiate department was added, and in 1924 the institution migrated to East Orange, New Jersey.[19]

Hope Academy played its brief rôle at Moorhead, Minnesota, from 1888 till 1896, when hard times forced it to give up the fight. During that period it satisfied the ambition of the Red River Valley for higher education. As was done in the case of Luther Academy, while the solicitors interviewed prospects, others negotiated for a location, which was finally found in a partly finished hotel building in Moorhead that stood as a reminder of "boom times." In 1892 the Red River Valley and

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[18] J. P. Nyquist, "Luther Academy," *Korsbaneret,* 1884, pp. 96–102; S. M. Hill, "Nebraska-svenskarnas bildningssträfvande," *Prärieblomman,* 1907, pp. 175–196.

[19] E. Hallander, "Upsala College," *Valkyrian,* April, 1900; L. H. Beck, "Upsala College," *Prärieblomman,* 1908, pp. 155–169; L. H. Beck, "Minnen," *Korsbaneret,* 1930, pp. 187–201. Beck was president of Upsala College from 1893 to 1910.

Alexandria mission districts of the Minnesota Conference accepted the ownership and control of the institution proffered by the Lutheran Benevolent Society of the Red River Valley, but Hope Academy never enjoyed the dignity of adoption by a conference.[20]

In 1889 pastors and laymen in Minneapolis, led by Carl J. Petri, pastor of the Augustana congregation, sponsored a school that took the name Emanuel Academy. Within the short period of its existence it flitted from the basement of the Augustana Church to a schoolhouse owned by a Norwegian congregation and finally to a residence. Although it was befriended by the millionaire lumberman Charles A. Smith, it could not survive the disastrous financial year of 1894.[21] It was an embodiment of the demand of the Swedes of the Twin Cities for an Augustana Synod educational institution, a demand that more than once seemed about to be realized but that never was fulfilled in an enduring form.

Not only was Augustana College harassed by enemies both in New York and in the country west of the Mississippi, but even within the Illinois Conference, which claimed Rock Island as one of its mission districts, an educational experiment undoubtedly designed to injure it was launched. This was Martin Luther College in Chicago.[22] Like their countrymen in St. Paul and Minneapolis, the Swedes of Chicago have always insisted that they deserved a college. Even down to the present day the agitation to move Augustana College to Chicago has persisted. Under the leadership of prominent Chicago pastors, Lars G. Abrahamson, Matthias C. Ranseen, Carl A. Evald, and S. A. Sandahl, the Martin Luther College Association was incorporated, in 1893, and within a few weeks advertisements of "Martin Luther College Subdivision," with lots for sale at three hundred dollars, appeared in *Augustana*. Eighty acres were purchased in Irving Park at "less than half price." Classes were conducted in the schoolhouse of a church on the South Side during the first academic year, that of 1893–94, but the next year it was in "one of the first buildings" on the site selected. Abrahamson was elected president, and Carl R. Chindblom, a graduate of Augustana College and later a distinguished congressman, was the "faculty." This grandiose experiment was short-lived, however, for in 1895 the institution closed its doors.[23]

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[20] S. A. Challman, "Hope Academy," *Jubel-album,* 1893, pp. 160–165.

[21] *Beginnings and Progress of the Minnesota Conference,* 91.

[22] S. P. A. Lindahl wrote in *Augustana* (August 2, 1906) that it was no secret that Martin Luther College was founded to hurt Augustana College.

This completes the list of colleges and academies established within the Augustana Synod before 1900. After that date a new crop sprang up, only to wilt under the financial depression that accompanied and followed the World War. It will be noted that Upsala College and Martin Luther College were started in the panic year of 1893. Not only were the colleges a drain on the resources of the constituency of the Swedish Lutherans, but the competition for students caused them to lower standards and to "pad" their enrollments in ways known to the American educational world. Luther Academy took students and support from Bethany, Hope Academy from Gustavus Adolphus, and Martin Luther from Augustana. In 1889, when the communicant membership of the synod was about eighty thousand, Swensson estimated the debt of Augustana to be forty thousand dollars; of Bethany, sixty thousand dollars; of Gustavus Adolphus, eighteen thousand dollars; and of Luther Academy, three thousand dollars. In 1894 John Jesperson, business manager of Augustana College, gave the combined debt of all the institutions as one hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars and stated that it was growing at the rate of twenty-five thousand dollars a year.[24] Jesperson knew, as did Olsson, who succeeded Hasselquist in the presidency in 1891, that Augustana College had almost reached the stage of insolvency. They were perhaps the only two persons fully aware of this fact, although the faculty must have had a partial revelation of the seriousness of the situation when the president informed them that they might have to take a reduction in salary. Bethany College was in even worse financial straits, and for a time it was a question whether or not it could survive.

It was fortunate that the warm-hearted and popular Olof Olsson was president of Augustana College from 1891 to 1900.

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[23] *Alumnus,* January, 1894; L. G. Abrahamson, in *Fosterlandet,* August 8, 1894; advertisement in *Augustana,* January 4, 1894; C. A. Swensson, "Martin Luther College," *Jubel-album,* 165–166.

[24] *Augustana,* December 12, 1889, May 24, 1894.

Like Hasselquist, he was weak in the capacities of financier and administrator, but his virtues more than made up for his shortcomings. Religion to him was not adherence to a creed and to a system of forms and ceremonies; neither was education to him the learning by rote of a table of formulas or of a scheme of rules and definitions. It was the spirit, not the letter, that gave life. "Is there not a way in our system of Christian education of making our young people into refined and polished ladies and gentlemen?" he asked. "Is it not permissible to employ every legitimate and sound means of educating the youth? God alone can transform an individual into a true Christian." He believed that the church should cultivate the various fields of knowledge and develop a many-sided man.

At the time when many good people believed that the violin was the devil's own instrument and when the efforts of some "misguided" young men to organize bands split congregations, Olsson wrote articles in the papers advocating the elevation of the musical standards in churches and schools. Previously, in his Lindsborg days, even before the church was equipped with an organ, he had organized a choir. He had transposed the notes into numbers, because only two members of the choir could read notes. On his first European trip in 1879 he visited the Crystal Palace in London and heard the rendition of Händel's "Messiah." This great concert played on the chords of his musical nature, and upon his return to Augustana College he could not rest until an orchestra and a chorus were organized. Students and singing societies in the surrounding communities cooperated, music was purchased, and rehearsals were held. The first public concert was given in Moline, on April 12, 1881, and the performance was repeated in five other cities. Carl Swensson made the trip from Lindsborg to Moline to hear it. So impressed was he that he arranged for the rendition of the "Messiah" in Lindsborg the following winter, with Olsson at the organ. Thus the annual rendition of Händel's masterpiece, an event that attracts thousands of artists and music lovers to Lindsborg, must be accredited to the former Värmland curate, who was ever a friend of humanity, whether in a Kansas sod house, a miner's cottage in Värmland, or the salons of the élite.

On October 31, 1887, through the columns of *Skolwännen,* Olsson bade farewell to his readers. Broken health made it necessary for him to lay down the duties of theological professor and solicitor. Bowed with grief over the death of his wife, his refined and sensitive nature received a rude shock when at the meeting of the ministerium of the synod at Galesburg in 1888 he was made the object of an inquisition. The story runs that in private conversations with him some of his critics verified their suspicions that he was not quite orthodox in their restricted use of that word. The leaders of the opposition were S. P. A. Lindahl and Peter Sjöblom, the latter a formalist who at synodical meetings was always armed with copies of official proceedings and constitutions. In bringing charges against Olsson his opponents entirely neglected the amenities due the broken and beloved leader. In the midst of such an attack he may well have recalled the scene years earlier when he was defendant before the high-handed Swedish bishop. That star chamber proceedings could spring up on the free soil of his beloved America was a cruel blow to one who had given of his best to the synod.

After the Galesburg episode Olsson was to all appearances a broken and crushed man. To some of the keener students in the theological seminary, to which he returned after an interval of three years, he appeared all too cautious, careful, and evasive on certain questions. But although the theologians and politicians could blight the flower of the spirit, they could not destroy the popular esteem that expressed itself in the taking of a collection to enable him to make a trip to Europe for the benefit of his broken body and bowed mind. Nor could they prevent his election as president of Augustana College and Theological Seminary in 1891. His letters from Europe raised doubts as to whether or not he would remain in the synod, but the good will of the people of the synod evidently convinced him that he had a mission to perform. "My journey back to the school is a way of prayer," he wrote. For a decade the students had the inestimable privilege of beholding his shining face on the platform of the chapel and hearing the inimitable fervor in his voice when he said, "We Swedes!" When death claimed him, on May 12, 1900, it was as though bereavement had stricken thousands of homes; and ever since the statement has been repeated: "When Doctor Olsson died, the synod lost its last great man." [25]

During the era of educational politics and conference particularism, Olsson did not resort to polemics. He had traveled extensively in the area covered by the synod and had learned to know its problems and people; moreover, he was a good friend of the leaders, including Swensson, who defended him and always spoke well of him. During the academic year of 1888–89 Olsson even served as financial agent for Bethany College. He at least came to understand, if not to share, the dissatisfaction on the part of partisans of Bethany, Gustavus Adolphus, and Luther colleges, who objected to the "overshadowing rôle" of Augustana, charging that the Illinois Conference had practically dictated the educational policy and that other conferences had been "taxed without representation." [26]

In an effort to iron out difficulties, the synod in 1886 elected an education committee of about forty members. The committee met at Rock Island in the summer and the mountain labored and brought forth a mouse. The discussion of the project of turning over Augustana College to the Illinois Conference, leaving the seminary as the only synodical institution, was terminated by a motion that for the present each should retain its present status. A subcommittee of eleven was appointed to draft a course of study for all institutions, but nothing tangible ever came of it.[27] One of the chief obstacles to the separation of seminary and college has been the adjustment of property holdings. At the synodical meeting held in Jamestown, New York, in 1890, it was decided that the charter of the combined institutions would have to be amended before the question of moving the seminary could be discussed; but at the last evening session, at which the attendance was meager, a motion was adopted to instruct the delegates of the Augustana Synod to the General Council to request that body to donate the property it had purchased for its prospective Chicago seminary to Augustana Seminary. No action was taken by the General Council, however.[28]

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[25] Sketches and recollections of Olsson in *Lindsborg efter femtio år;* Johannes A. Nyvall, "Doktor O. Olsson," *Korsbaneret,* 1901, pp. 142–166; *Minnesskrift af O. Olsson,* Rock Island, 1900; O. Olsson, *Samlade skrifter; Hemvännen,* June 29, 1889; "Från Amerika," *Hemlandsvännen,* Stockholm, April 30, 1891. Carl Swensson stated publicly that Olsson was spied upon; to this Lindahl, editor of *Augustana* (November 6, 1902), replied that to call a man to account for doctrinal unsoundness was not espionage. A letter from a student of Olsson's, the Reverend C. A. Rosander of Crystal Falls, Michigan, dated November 29, 1929, relates some details of the Galesburg episode, which several other men have confirmed. Olsson's letters from Europe were published in book form under the title *Till Rom och hem igen.* His other most widely read book was written during his trip abroad in 1879 and was entitled *Helsningar från fjerran.* Olsson was a great admirer of America, its institutions and people, and had no desire to visit Sweden on his second transatlantic voyage. A number of Olsson's sermons and lectures are printed under the title *Predikningar och föredrag,* Rock Island, 1903.

[26] S. M. Hill, "Det gemensamma skolarbetet," *Till Werksamhet,* Wahoo, December, 1886. Hill was president of Luther Academy, of which this paper was the organ.

[27] *Ungdomsvännen,* July, 1886; *Till Werksamhet,* September, December, 1886.

The tendency toward decentralization was definitely checked for a decade at the convention held at St. Peter, Minnesota, in 1894, when after consuming a whole day in discussing the recommendation of the synodical council that Augustana College be turned over to the Illinois and Iowa conferences and that a committee be authorized to adjust the property holdings of the two institutions, the convention defeated it almost unanimously. What brought about this remarkable exhibition of synodical solidarity it is difficult to determine, unless the hard times had a sobering effect and Olsson's plea convinced the doubtful. But events have proved that the question was only postponed on that occasion, for it is at this moment clamoring for a solution. The convention decided to increase the term of the president to two years and to change the unit of representation from the individual congregation to the conference.[29]

With the return of prosperity and the reappearance of the promoter at the turn of the century, another epidemic of academies and colleges broke out. Those were the halcyon days of the captains of finance. But in the twentieth century as in the eighties and nineties an era of retrenchment followed the expansionist era and one by one the academies went to early deaths. The policy of centralization was adopted in order to meet problems that Hasselquist, Carlsson, Olsson, and Swensson never dreamed of. But this is a chapter by itself in the history of the Augustana Synod.

[28] *Augustana,* May 1, July 3, 1890. See Hasselquist's article in the issue of May 1.

[29] At the Galesburg meeting in 1888 the synod rejected the proposal to base representation on one pastor and one layman for each thousand members. *Augustana,* May 8, 1890, printed two drafts of proposed constitutions. *Hemvännen,* June 30, 1888; *Augustana,* June 14, 1894.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE AUGUSTANA SYNOD SINCE 1900

DURING the years from 1900 to 1914 the Augustana Synod must have appeared to the superficial observer as being still what it had been in the previous century. It remained predominantly Swedish. Congregations speaking English exclusively were so few as to be very conspicuous. The pastor who could speak fluent, grammatical, and idiomatic English was a striking figure on the floor of synod and conference, where the deliberations were largely conducted in the Swedish language; and the clergyman who was unable to preach a Swedish sermon found his field narrowly circumscribed. Both consciously and unconsciously, the policy of the leaders was based on the assumption that Swedish as a spoken language would live throughout the century and that, while some provision had to be made for the small minority who neither could join a Swedish congregation nor desired to do so, the day when the synod would be thoroughly Americanized was so remote that there was no necessity for bridging the stream until the time came to cross it. Even in the seething days of 1917, when the synod met at Rock Island to celebrate the quadricentennial of the Reformation, the programs, with one exception, were almost exclusively Swedish. In that year the average number of printed copies per week of *Augustana,* the Swedish organ, was 20,925 and of the *Lutheran Companion,* 6,741. Of the Sunday school papers, *Barnens Tidning* printed 37,538 weekly copies and the *Olive Leaf,* 20,500. In 1926 the figures for the respective papers were 18,584, 11,398, 9,919, and 42,372. In 1930 the circulation of the *Lutheran Companion* slightly exceeded that of *Augustana* and a still greater disparity existed between the Sunday school papers, with the advantage in favor of the *Olive Leaf.*[1] At the close of the World War the Augustana Book Concern was stocked up with Swedish books that no one would buy and its stock room was barren of suitable publications in English. In 1913 the synod authorized for the first time the publication in English of a digest of the Swedish minutes. The Americanization of the Augustana Synod is the theme of a later chapter, but these facts are given here as indicative of the pre-war atmosphere and as a setting for the events about to be related.

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[1] Reports of the Augustana Book Concern, printed in the minutes of the Augustana Synod for those years.

During the first decade of the present century Erik Norelius was president of the Augustana Synod. His life not only spanned the history of the synod but symbolized it. He was present as an ordained pastor at the organization of the synod and was more familiar than any other person with its history. Having passed his sixty-sixth year at the time he assumed the presidency in 1899, he was unable either to understand or to adapt himself to a new dispensation. His re-election year after year was a recognition of the long and honorable part he had played in the progress of the church; but it would have been more appropriate, and perhaps better for the synod, had an adequate annuity been provided to enable him in his declining years to devote his entire time to the preparation of the second volume of his history of the synod while he lived on his farm across the road from the church in his beloved Vasa. In the light of his record as a conference particularist it is somewhat strange to read in his annual report of 1903 that he feared that the synod was losing its unity and proposed as a remedy the consolidation of educational work, missionary activity, and similar projects under administrative boards.

In spite of certain indications to the contrary, decentralization was on the wane after 1894. Problems and undertakings too great for the resources of individual conferences came into prominence; questions of foreign missions, ministerial pensions, intersynodical cooperation, church literature, immigrant missions, laymen's activity, and others demanded for their satisfactory solution the prestige and resources of a larger body. Hospitals, homes for orphans and the aged, and educational institutions remained under the jurisdiction of their particular conferences. It is a paradox that in a period when easier means of communication were drawing the synod together in many respects, the colleges became increasingly regional, both in their student bodies and in their sources of support. But with the advent of the consolidated school and the assimilation of the Swedes, there was more and more indifference among both pastors and laymen as to the fate of church schools. Ever louder became the lament of college presidents that even pastors did not send their sons and daughters to "our own schools." Swedish papers with their own axes to grind and with local and regional constituencies diminished in number, and *Augustana* under Lindahl and his successor, L. G. Abrahamson, wielded its powerful influence in favor of synodical solidarity. Rock Island more and more came to be regarded as the capital of Swedish Lutheranism.

In 1922 the term of the president of the synod was extended to four years and his annual stipend was increased sufficiently to render him independent of a pastoral salary. The power and authority of the office were practically episcopal, although the faintest manifestation of a desire to assume the title of bishop would certainly have aroused ecclesiastical fury, as the vote on the acceptance of the "bishop's cross" at the synodical convention of 1930 proved so strikingly. In 1929 a synodical budget system went into effect that provided for a secretary of stewardship clothed with powers that would have precipitated an ordinance of secession from Sjöblom and his "fire-eaters." It so happened that the first secretary of stewardship was Otto Leonardson of Minneapolis, who established his citadel in hostile country when he set up his office in that city. But Sjöblom was long since dead, and Leonardson was one of the most popular men in the synod and undoubtedly the most popular man in the Minnesota Conference. Twenty years earlier the election of a layman to a position of such importance would have been impossible; but the laymen's movement, involving the election of men who knew little or nothing of educational politics or of clerical wire-pulling and petty jealousies, had begun before the war and had become a factor to be reckoned with by the third decade of the century.

From the retirement of Norelius in 1911 until 1918 Lawrence A. Johnston of St. Paul presided over the synod. Johnston was born in Sugar Grove, Pennsylvania, and was thus the first native-born president. He spoke excellent English, as well as Swedish, but he lacked the arts of the popular speaker, and was on all occasions chained to a manuscript. His dignified bearing and fine character commanded respect, but his fiery temper sometimes ran away with him as presiding officer. He was not a man of profound learning, and his outlook as pastor and churchman was colored by a strong strain of pietism and conservatism. He proceeded on the theory that the principal purpose of the synod was to minister to the Swedish population, and his attitude toward the General Council was not friendly. Unionism never had a more uncompromising foe. He even frowned upon the Y. M. C. A. as a danger to "pure doctrine." This conservative attitude was, of course, common to the older pastors with the exception of a few men like Olsson and Swensson. Johnston's administration was not marked by the inauguration of constructive policies. His chief contribution, perhaps, was his sympathetic attitude toward the extension of English mission work. His election to the presidency was perhaps due as much as anything else to the synod's need of a man who was fluent in both languages.

With the accession of Gustaf Albert Brandelle in 1918, the synod gained its ablest parliamentarian. He was an aggressive man whose strong convictions were carried to the point of stubbornness, and he frequently called the vice president to the chair while he projected himself into the debate; but his rulings were usually eminently fair, and during his incumbency both sides were assured of a hearing. Brandelle, who was a product of Illinois, had served an almost exclusively Swedish congregation in Denver until his elevation to the presidency. He was a shrewd man of affairs. Preaching in Swedish and bargaining in English gave him an ecclesiastical vocabulary in the language of his fathers and the jargon of the business man in the speech of his native land. He was very active and influential in the Kansas Conference and was elected president of Bethany College in the eighties. This honor, however, he declined, and revealed thereby his native shrewdness and insight into situations. In addition to performing his pastoral duties, he was editor for a time of the *Augustana Journal,* in one sense the forerunner of the *Lutheran Companion,* but his style on the printed page is no more impressive than in the pulpit and on the platform. Nevertheless, his addresses were in some respects effective; on the floor of synod and conference he exhibited a genius for clarifying a situation and untangling a parliamentary snarl. As president of the synod he traveled extensively, visiting conventions both within his own synod and outside it. He represented his church at ecclesiastical convocations in Europe on several occasions and always made his influence felt. Like all his predecessors except Hasselquist, Jonas Swensson, Erland Carlsson, and S. P. A. Lindahl, he was the recipient of a conspicuous decoration from the king of Sweden. Finally, he withstood adversaries as bravely as the Apostle Paul.

With the advent of Brandelle the synod stood on the threshold of a new era. As vice president he presided over the deliberations of the synod in Minneapolis in 1918, at the time when the merger with the United Lutheran church was the most important item of business. Against great odds and at the risk of incurring general disfavor, he championed the unpopular cause of the merger. In one sense his course at this convention gives the keynote of his administration: Lutheran cooperation. He has deplored the division in such strong Swedish centers as Worcester, Massachusetts, of American Lutherans along lines of nationality. In that city he stated in 1924 that although Lutherans had been immigrating to the United States since colonial times, the membership of Lutheran churches was comparatively small because of national prejudices. He asserted that the only remedy for this situation was the universal adoption of English as the language of the church.[2] Brandelle has had many more contacts with churchmen in Sweden and in Europe than his predecessors, but in season and out he has preached Lutheran solidarity and the obliteration of linguistic fences. He has lent whole-hearted support to the National Lutheran Council, an intersynodical organization born of war-time conditions, to the Lutheran Brotherhood, another "war baby," to the Luther League, and to the work among Lutheran students at non-Lutheran institutions. It is true that Brandelle only responded to the spirit of the time, but his response was enthusiastic.

[2] *Svea,* Worcester, quoted in *Allsvensk Samling,* March 1, 1924.

It is noticeable that during the Brandelle era the president's reports dealt lightly with "doctrine" and stressed policies and programs. The writer was the practical man to whom doctrine was necessary, but not too necessary, and history was held in no greater esteem by him than by Henry Ford. Drives for sums unheard of only a few years before were carried to successful conclusions during this period, and most of the congregations resolved to depend upon voluntary contributions instead of upon fixed annual dues as had been done universally until that time.

The history of the Augustana Book Concern illustrates the growing solidarity of the synod, to which it contributed. It will be recalled that the synod disposed of the Swedish Lutheran Publication Society to the firm of Engberg, Holmberg, and Lindell in 1874 and of *Hemlandet* to Enander and Bohman in 1872. A combination of circumstances brought about these transactions: Augustana College and Seminary was critically in need of funds; there was dissatisfaction with the management of the publication business; and decentralization was in the air. Nevertheless, there was strong opposition to the disposal of the property, and from that day to this the interpretation of the instrument of sale has been in dispute. In the case of *Hemlandet* the publication society pledged itself not to publish another paper so long as the paper was edited in the spirit of the former publishers; but in the case of the bookstore and printing establishment it was alleged that the synod bound itself forever not to engage in similar activities. S. P. A. Lindahl examined the instrument of sale, however, and found that the synod had merely sold what it had without making any stipulation as to its future course.[3]

In 1877, three years after the sale of the publication society, a society that took the name *Ungdomens Vänner* was organized by the faculty and students of Augustana College, including Hasselquist, Olsson, C. J. Petri, C. A. Swensson, M. Wahlström, and C. M. Esbjörn. Although its purpose was to publish a Swedish paper for children, a reprint of Olof Olsson's *Reformation, Socianism och Waldenströmianism* and a tract, *Välkommen,* for distribution among immigrants, were among its first publications. In 1879 the society assumed responsibility for a monthly, *Ungdomsvännen,* and in 1880 began the publication of *Korsbaneret,* an annual that continues down to the present time. In 1883 the jubilee of the meeting at Uppsala was celebrated at Augustana College in a large hall erected especially for the occasion, and under the spell of preparations for this event the little society changed its name to the Augustana Tract Society, sold memberships in order to enlarge its scope, and decided to donate its net income to the support of Augustana College and Seminary. That year it began to publish the *Olive Leaf,* a Sunday school paper, a song book, devotional books, tracts, and *Luther-kalender,* a souvenir album consisting of articles contributed by several Augustana Synod leaders.[4]

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[3] The former view is presented by E. W. Olson, *En bokhandels-historia efter tillgängliga källor tecknad. Utgifven med anledning af the Engberg-Holmberg Publishing Companys femtioårs affärsjubileum 1909*, Chicago, 1910, and the latter by C. J. Bengston, "Sven Peter August Lindahl," *Prärieblomman*, 1909, pp. 117–138. A brief sketch is O. V. Holmgrain, *Augustana Book Concern, 1889–1914, samt Augustana-synodens tidigare förlagsverksamhet*, Rock Island, 1914. See also J. A. Enander, "En svensk-amerikansk tidnings 50-årsjubileum," *Prärieblomman*, 1906, pp. 228–248; A. Schön, "G. A. Bohman," *Prärieblomman*, 1907, pp. 261–262; E. W. Olson, "Några anteckningar till den svensk-amerikanska förlagsverksamhetens historia," *Prärieblomman*, 1910, pp. 168–187; C. W. Foss, "The Swedish Lutheran Publication Society," *Alumnus*, January, 1893.

The sale of memberships, however, did not prove popular, and in 1884 it was decided to organize a stock company under the name Augustana Book Concern. After it had been legally organized, it took over the Augustana Tract Society, of which the net income was to accrue to the benefit of the college. The same year a bookstore in Moline was purchased and moved to its present site near the college.[5] But the new company did not enjoy prosperity, in spite of the efforts of the officers, and at the end of five years only a little more than half of the stock had been sold. Moreover, the firm of Engberg and Holmberg and its partisans opposed the enterprise on the ground that it was a breach of contract. In 1889 the synod made provision for a board of publication with instructions to purchase the Augustana Book Concern and to avoid friction with Engberg and Holmberg and other book firms.

The result was the purchase by the synod of the publication house, which it still owns and controls. The affair was negotiated by the friends of the synodical educational institution.

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[4] *Ungdomsvännen,* August, 1880, February 15, August 15, 1883.

[5] *Ungdomsvännen,* February 20, May 21, July 16, August 6, October 1, 1884.

during the presidency of S. P. A. Lindahl but not without some opposition. The transaction was strictly speaking what Lindahl and his supporters represented it to be, a gift; that is, there was no payment for equipment, stock, and good will. On the other hand, it did represent the assumption of debts totaling forty-two thousand dollars as against a credit in assets and property of no great value. Lindahl was unfortunate in that he was obliged, as a stockholder and head of the old firm and as chairman of the synodical board, to represent the conflicting interests of both parties to the transaction. Few men can do this successfully, and Lindahl has not been without his critics in the matter. At the first meeting after the purchase, in 1889, Lindahl was elected president of the board of directors, a position he held until his death in 1908.[6] Undoubtedly it was to the advantage of the synod to have its own publication house, but this aspect of the situation could be and has been obscured sometimes by those who considered primarily the questions raised by the original transaction.

The policy of the Augustana Book Concern has been conservative from the beginning. Naturally the trade lists show a great preponderance of devotional and religious books, tracts, and periodicals, although a few school and college textbooks, historical works, and books of poetry and fiction have been published. From a literary point of view the outstanding publication has been *Prärieblomman,* an annual edited by Anders Schön from 1900 to 1913. *Ungdomsvännen,* an illustrated monthly, during the last twenty years of its existence also had distinct literary merit.[7] The *Augustana Theological Quarterly,* which was succeeded after an interval of a few years by the *Augustana Quarterly,* has aspired to a place among learned periodicals, but rarely have any of its articles risen above mediocrity. It is bilingual, but in the more recent volumes English has had the larger share of space. The foremen and make-up men in the manufacturing department have had their training in Sweden, and consequently the books have been more European than American in appearance.

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[6] For this information the writer is indebted to private sources in whose reliability and thorough familiarity with the events they discussed he has every reason to trust. Fortunately the historian can be dispassionate where contemporaries were divided. It should be said, however, that on major policies Lindahl was unusually clear-sighted and used his influence to keep the synod on an even keel at a time when such influence was sorely needed. Lindahl's friends cite examples of his generosity and idealism and insist that he was much misunderstood. They explain his opposition to Olof Olsson on the ground of the latter's capriciousness and lack of executive ability.

[7] It ceased publication in 1918.

Work in the field of foreign missions also contributed to synodical solidarity. Lacking the means to carry on independent work in foreign countries, the synod very early in its career appropriated money for the support of missionaries employed under Lutheran auspices; and after the affiliation with the General Council was effected, a number of missionaries from the synod went to India in the course of years to labor on the common field. After the Spanish-American War the same situation arose in Porto Rico. The chief interest of the Augustana Synod, however, has been centered in China and Africa, where it took the initiative and from the beginning functioned independently. The China mission had its inception in Minnesota in 1901, when certain pastors in the Twin Cities called a meeting of men and women interested in the cause. A society was organized, and the first missionary was commissioned in 1905. The feeling was strong in some quarters that this movement was another manifestation of the particularistic tendencies in the Minnesota Conference. However that may have been, at the synodical meeting in 1903 a communication from the Minnesota Conference was read that prayed the synod to set up an independent mission board. This petition reflects the dissatisfaction, always strong in the Minnesota Conference, that grew out of affiliation with the General Council. The synod refused the request, but in 1908 acted favorably on a similar petition. Since that time large sums have been raised and great progress has been made. Much credit for this success belongs to the Woman's Missionary Society, organized in 1892, over whose destiny Mrs. Emmy Evald of Chicago, the enthusiastic and energetic pioneer leader among Swedish-American women, has presided throughout the entire period of its existence. The African mission originated in 1917, although the World War delayed the field work for three years.[8]

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[8] L. G. Abrahamson, "Augustana-synodens hednamission," *Minnesskrift,* 1910, pp. 122–152; see *My Church* for maps of mission fields, and the synodical minutes for reports of mission boards and proceedings of the Woman's Missionary Society. *Mission Tidings,* which was first issued in 1905, is published by the latter organiza-

In 1903 the synod entered another field of service when it assumed the ownership and control of the Immanuel Deaconess Institute at Omaha. This work had its beginning as an independent project of Ernest A. Fogelström, who sent a few women to Philadelphia for training in deaconess work. In 1890 deaconesses were placed in charge of Immanuel Hospital. Another deaconess institute was established in connection with Bethesda Hospital in St. Paul. At first the sisters were sent from the home in Omaha, but dissatisfaction with this arrangement caused the Minnesota Conference to set up an independent institution in 1903. This experiment, however, engendered ill feeling and met with no success, and after a quarter of a century it was discontinued. On the whole, the results of the Omaha institution have not been impressive, for very few women have been attracted to the work.[9]

Although considerable progress was made in the first three decades of the present century, including the erection of impressive churches, the educational program remained chaotic. Not until after the war was a real beginning made in securing adequate endowments for Augustana, Gustavus Adolphus, and Bethany, and today the goal has by no means been reached. At the end of the academic year 1922–23 the indebtedness of Augustana College was two hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars and the deficit in the running expenses was ten thousand dollars. The munificence of the Denkmann heirs had resulted in the building of a palatial library, and the contributions of the citizens of the tri-city had provided a gymnasium, but the "school mania" that raged anew prevented the formulation of an educational program and the obtaining of adequate financial support.

The year that followed the collapse of Hope Academy saw the birth of Lund Academy, which ran for two winters, from 1897 to 1899. But the ambition of the Red River Valley people,

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tion. Constitutions of synod and conferences and charters, by-laws, and regulations of institutions and boards are printed in *Samling af Augustana-synodens och dess konferensers och inrättningars oktrojer, stadgar och ordningsregler,* Rock Island, 1918.

[9] P. M. Lindberg, "Augustana-synodens diakonissanstalter och sjukhus," *Minnesskrift,* pp. 230–244; E. A. Fogelström, *Dorkas,* Rock Island, 1892, a publication for the benefit of the deaconess home. The formal merger of the St. Paul and Omaha institutions was effected in the summer of 1930.

though twice frustrated, was not to be denied; therefore Northwestern College was born at Fergus Falls, Minnesota, in January, 1901.[10] However, the Minnesotans were not satisfied with one academy in the northern part of the state, so in 1908 North Star College was established at Warren.[11] Both institutions have maintained a precarious existence and in later years the faculty at Warren, lacking fixed salaries, has been dependent upon tuition and contributions. By action of the Red River Conference in 1930, financial support for North Star College was withdrawn.

After the failure of a misguided effort in Texas to found an institution christened Lone Star College, the Swedish Lutherans organized Trinity College at Round Rock in 1906. The Kansas Conference, which at that time included the Texas congregations, declined to adopt the infant, but allowed the mission districts to set up their own school.[12] The institution managed to exist until 1929, when its name was added to the impressive list of defunct academies. Coeur d'Alene College, in the Idaho city of that name, by action of the Columbia Conference opened its doors in 1907, with John Jesperson, for many years business manager of Augustana College, its promoter and first president.[13] Optimism and faith were unable, however, to surmount the obstacles created by an unfavorable location and the World War. None of the institutions here mentioned lived up to their names. Their " departments " were academy, business, and music. The number of students enrolled belied the claim of their supporters that these institutions were necessary or " filled a long-felt want."

As in the case of the other conferences, financial pressure rather than ministerial wisdom dictated the solution of the educational problem of the Minnesota Conference. A discussion of this problem takes us back to the years when Gustavus

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[10] J. Moody, " Northwestern College," *Prärieblomman,* 1909, pp. 183–191. This institution is the property of the Northwestern College Corporation. At the convention of the Red River Conference in 1930 the Mission Board was instructed to inquire of the corporation if it were willing to surrender its property to the conference. The reply was in the affirmative, but no definite action has been taken. *Lutheran Companion,* December 20, 1930.

[11] O. E. Abrahamson, in *Ungdomsvännen,* October, 1912.

[12] Alfred L. Scott, " Trinity College, Round Rock, Texas," *Korsbaneret,* 1907, pp. 95–102; *Augustana,* May 17, 1900; H. C. Alden, The Evangelical Lutheran Trinity College of Round Rock, Texas, master's thesis, University of Texas, 1929.

[13] J. Jesperson, in *Ungdomsvännen,* August, 1913.

Adolphus College was casting about for a location and to the dissatisfaction resulting from the choice of St. Peter. Shortly after the opening of the college in 1876, a faction led by A. P. Montén, one of the many "promoter-preachers" active at that time, conceived the idea of having the members of the board of directors chosen from the St. Peter district in order to wean the people in the other parts of the conference away from the institution, thus paving the way for moving it to St. Paul or Minneapolis.[14] The feeling that the Twin Cities was the logical location for the college grew until the matter came to a head at an extraordinary meeting of the conference in October, 1902, at which a communication was presented from an association of former students of Gustavus Adolphus College who resided in those cities. The conference was informed that the former students had subscribed a sum of money and had obtained promises of substantial donations from James J. Hill, the railway magnate, and Charles A. Smith, a lumber king of Swedish birth. Promises of further contributions were also made. For two days the matter was debated and before the vote was taken Erik Norelius was asked to commit the matter into the hands of God through prayer. The report of the tellers revealed 200 of the 215 votes in favor of moving to St. Paul or Minneapolis on condition that the promises outlined be fulfilled before the next meeting of the conference.[15]

At the next meeting the committee was obliged to report that the conditions stipulated in the resolutions of the previous convention had not been met and that the matter of a site was undecided. The matter was therefore left in abeyance. The partisans of St. Peter in the meantime were straining every effort to retain the college; and when at the 1904 meeting it was revealed that the people of the Twin Cities had not fulfilled their promises, it was voted to retain the institution at St. Peter.[16] In order to make sure of the prize that was theirs, citizens of St. Peter contributed fifteen thousand dollars to be used for building purposes, and the conference pledged its good faith to maintain the college at its present location.

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[14] S. M. Hill, "Det gemensamma skolarbetet," *Till Werksamhet,* December, 1886.

[15] *Utdrag ur protokollet,* 1902. For a summary of the arguments pro and con, see Alfred Bergin, "Minnesotabref," *Augustana,* September 4, 1902.

[16] The vote was 141 to 105.

Since that time an auditorium, a gymnasium, a men's dormitory, and a stadium have been erected; and as property holdings have increased, agitation for removal has subsided.

But the "school question" was far from settled. At the 1904 meeting a committee was authorized to make necessary arrangements for the establishment of a school in the Twin Cities and as a result Minnesota College opened its doors in Minneapolis in the fall of that year. Thus confusion was increased; for the conference was split between the partisans of rival institutions separated by less than a hundred miles, appropriations were divided, and solicitors crossed paths. Rival presidents and rival supporters expressed public gratification over the progress of both schools and saw the necessity of both, but everyone who knew conditions discounted such statements almost to the vanishing point.

After a year's residence in rented quarters, Minnesota College found its "permanent" location on property adjacent to the campus of the University of Minnesota. After three *ad interim* presidents had served for as many years, Frank Nelson was elected head of the institution. Compared with its rival, the younger institution was certainly in the better position, and it was expected that it would develop very soon into a "real college." Whereas the newly elected president of the St. Peter institution was unpopular, Nelson came with a great reputation and at once became a most popular speaker. He had served his apprenticeship under Carl Swensson at Lindsborg, who, when friction developed between the two men, had used his political influence to have his critic pushed into a bed of roses, securing for him the nomination and election to the office of superintendent of public instruction in Kansas. Nelson aspired to make Minnesota College another Bethany. Breezy news items appeared in the press, Bethany's advertisements were imitated, and for a few years the "Messiah" was rendered under "college" auspices. Unfortunately, there was but one "Prästa Kalle," and Minneapolis was not Lindsborg. The debt of Minnesota College, in spite of drives, mounted to an alarming figure. Moreover, in 1913 Gustavus Adolphus secured a president of greater executive ability in the person of Oscar J. Johnson, the former president of Luther

College, who worked quietly and effectively. Gustavus Adolphus College made friends and Minnesota College lost them. People became aware of the expense of maintaining two institutions, and the cleavage between the educational factions hampered the progress of the conference in other fields. When shortly after the close of the war Gustavus Adolphus College launched a campaign for an endowment in order to obtain one hundred thousand dollars granted conditionally by the General Education Board, the response was disappointing. The deadline for raising the required amount was extended from time to time, until the goal was reached by heroic efforts in 1925.

Attempts were made occasionally to consolidate the boards of the two schools as a preliminary step to a merger under a single administration, always with the intention of maintaining the Minneapolis institution as a branch or department. The Minnesota College officials opposed this consistently, but the sister institution welcomed it. Finally, in 1924, the conference voted to consolidate the boards. At that time, however, the older school was straining every effort to secure the grant of the General Education Board and had no desire to annex the debt of Minnesota College. The outcome was the defeat of the proposition at the next conference meeting, much to the joy of the friends of the Minneapolis academy. By the close of the year 1928 the conference had successfully completed a drive for five hundred thousand dollars in behalf of its institutions of mercy, a large undertaking for a conference with a communicant membership of approximately sixty thousand, and one that required that purses be open continually.

But the jubilation of Minnesota College was short-lived. In 1929 a committee of the conference was appointed to make a survey of the educational field. This committee departed abruptly from the traditional Jacksonian democracy of conference and synod by employing Fred Engelhardt, professor of educational administration at the University of Minnesota, to make the survey. Clothed with the authority of the conference, Engelhardt had access to the records and documents of the two colleges, and in two comprehensive reports he brought to light facts and conditions that confirmed the suspicions of many persons. On the whole, the report for Gustavus Adolphus was rather favorable, though far from optimistic or eulogistic; but the report for Minnesota College was a scathing indictment of the administration. Records were poorly kept, discipline was loose, and statements in the catalogue were not true to fact. Engelhardt found no justification for the maintenance of the institution from any standpoint, educational, moral, or religious.[17]

When the conference met in Stillwater in April, 1930, the university professor was kept on the floor for three hours to answer questions ranging from matters of fact and interpretation in his report to the alleged "ungodliness" of the state schools. After the conclusion of the session with the professor, half a day was spent in debate, at the conclusion of which the conference decided by a four-to-one vote to close Minnesota College. Thus was terminated a controversy that had extended over more than a half century. The action of the conference would probably have been the same even without the Engelhardt report, but if a "clincher" had been needed, the report would have supplied it.

The academies have outlived their usefulness and since the war have fallen one by one by the wayside. They have been dropped by Augustana, Bethany, and Gustavus Adolphus. In the years when mature men, lacking instruction in the fundamentals, aspired to an education but would have found it embarrassing to enroll in the public high schools, the academies were necessary to the church and salutary for the community. The "preparatory" department, preliminary to the academy, likewise served a purpose. With the advent of the consolidated school and the virtual cessation of immigration from Sweden, mature students have become too few to warrant the expense of maintaining institutions of the type represented by Minnesota College, as the Engelhardt survey proved by statistics. The synod, however, still has a small minority convinced that the academies are the best "feeders" for the seminary and the colleges, because graduates of public high schools and universities do not adapt themselves to the seminary. The other side of this difficult question is represented by the readjustments an educational institution must make to meet the needs of students and the changing *Zeitgeist.*

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[17] Through the courtesy of Mr. Engelhardt the writer has had the opportunity of reading the typewritten reports. A summary was printed and placed in the hands of delegates to the conference. Mr. Nelson prepared a printed "defense." The condensed reports, together with other documentary material, are printed in the minutes of the conference for 1930.

In reviewing the history of Augustana College and Theological Seminary, the reader should keep in mind the course of events in the conferences, for it influenced the action of the synod on educational questions. Upon the death of Olof Olsson in 1900, Carl A. Swensson was elected as his successor in the presidency of the synodical institution; but his attachment and obligation to Bethany College and Kansas were such that he declined the honor. Claude W. Foss, professor of history, served as acting president during the interim of one year preceding the arrival in the fall of 1901 of Gustav Albert Andreen, professor of Scandinavian languages at Yale University. Andreen was an alumnus of Augustana who had taken his doctorate at Yale. He had served on the faculty at Bethany College and had studied at European universities. He was a fluent speaker in both Swedish and English, and possessed a breeziness suggestive of Kansas. A profound lover of the Swedish language and of things Swedish, he encouraged students to register for Swedish courses and in popular addresses stressed the desirability of preserving in America the best features of the Swedish heritage. In formal education and training he was better equipped than either Hasselquist or Olsson, but after their passing neither he nor anyone else was able to take their place as father confessor and adviser of the students. Andreen inherited an exceedingly difficult situation. Neither Hasselquist nor Olsson had built up an efficient administrative machinery, partly because they did not have executive gifts and partly because the funds of the college had been so low that the members of the faculty were overburdened and the presidents were harassed on all sides. The finances were in a most deplorable condition, and even as late as 1905 salaries were in arrears.

Curiously enough, Andreen's first financial campaign was conducted in Sweden. As a student at Uppsala University on leave from Yale University, he conceived the idea of raising an endowment for Augustana College in Sweden. During the years 1899 and 1900 he delivered a number of lectures, acquainting the people with the needs of the Swedish-American educational institution and making contacts with influential men. The result was the organization of a committee in 1900 to obtain an endowment for the Oscar II professorship. Shortly after his return to the United States, Andreen was elected president of Augustana College and Theological Seminary. In the meantime interest in the project had flagged and early in 1903, upon invitation of the committee, the youthful and enthusiastic president visited Sweden to take part in a new campaign. The visitation of a serious famine upon the people of Norrland and the mounting emigration were far from favorable circumstances; but the generous contributions of Americans for the relief of the famine-stricken area caused the people of Sweden to regard it as an obligation to respond at least in part to Andreen's appeals. As one editor put it: " The least we can do to show our appreciation is to complete the Oscar II fund for Augustana in America." Eventually 120,000 crowns were raised.[18]

With the exception of occasional suggestions to transfer the ownership and control of Augustana College from the synod to certain conferences and retain the seminary as the sole synodical educational institution, this question rested during the first two decades of the present century.[19] It appeared that the advocates of decentralization were effectively silenced in 1921, when it was decided not to separate the college and seminary and to erect the theological buildings on the college campus. The following year a further step in the direction of centralization was taken when the General Board of Education was established. This was a body of twelve elective members having little or no delegated power. It was noticeable that the candidates known to approve of consolidation were not in favor with the voting members at this synodical convention. Its recommendations have been few and they have met with little favor. In 1923, however, the synod referred to the board the questions as to whether or not all the conference schools should be made synodical and whether Augustana College should be taken over by the Illinois, Iowa, and Superior conferences. The board made no recommendation at that time, but in 1926 it proposed that it be empowered to apportion the funds for the various institutions, which proposition was rejected. It was at this Philadelphia synodical convention, when the advocates of decentralization appeared to be in the saddle, that it was voted to transfer Augustana College to the three conferences already named and to appoint a committee to work out a plan whereby the change might be consummated. This action precipitated a flood of communications, articles, and editorials in the *Lutheran Companion* and *Augustana* during the next year, and once more the " school question " was the live topic.

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[18] Dr. Andreen has given an interesting account of his work in Sweden in an article entitled " Over Seas," *Lutheran Companion,* September 14, 1929. His official report is published in *Augustana-synodens referat,* 1903. During President Andreen's administration the debt of the college was liquidated and in 1923 and 1928 drives for $250,000 and $1,500,000, respectively, were completed. Prior to 1923 classes in the seminary were held in the college building. After the completion of the financial drive and the erection of the seminary building in that year, Archbishop Nathan Söderblom was present at the dedicatory exercises. The same year the synod voted to apportion the $225,000 debt resting on Augustana College and Seminary among the conferences, the heaviest obligation falling upon the Illinois, Iowa, and Superior conferences. The drive during 1927 and 1928 was made principally within the borders of these conferences. Important articles, including Andreen's appeal to the people of Sweden, are found in *Augustana,* August 9, 1900, March 9, 1901, June 18, 1903.

[19] A committee appointed by the Minnesota Conference in 1905 recommended the retention of the seminary only and prayed that the contributions of the Minnesota, Kansas, and New York conferences to synodical educational work be greatly reduced. *Augustana,* February 8, 1906.

The burden of the argument in favor of the change in the status of Augustana College was that it would merely be a recognition of existing conditions and that it would not further weaken the bonds of synodical solidarity. The fact was brought forward that 92 per cent of the college students were from the territory of the three conferences to which it was proposed to transfer the institution and that 52 per cent were from the four cities. There was also dissatisfaction with the apportionment of funds between the college and seminary, the two " departments " being under the same board of directors and financial administrator.[20] Those in favor of the retention of the synodical college stressed the fact that their opponents had not come forward with a constructive educational program and pointed to the vacillating " policy " of the past. In the words of one of the contributors, no one knew what the proponents of separation had " up their sleeves." [21] Another argument was that the status of the college should be held in abeyance until a committee of " experts " had made a survey of the entire educational problem. It was also claimed that administrative machinery of an institution controlled by three conferences would be cumbersome.

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[20] Peter Peterson and Erland Lind, in *Lutheran Companion,* February 5, April 9, 1927. It is true that the Illinois and Iowa conferences in 1920 voluntarily raised their annual fee to the college and seminary from twenty-five to fifty cents per communicant.

When the synod convened in Omaha in 1927, the matter had already been decided by the three conferences directly concerned. By decisive votes they refused to accept the " gift " proffered by the synod. The latter body, therefore, had no choice in the matter. The previous year the board of directors of Augustana College had reported that the North Central Association of Colleges had served an ultimatum that necessary buildings must be provided and the endowment increased by at least five hundred thousand dollars. Several pastors were inclined to rebel at this " dictation " from an outside source, but at the Omaha convention the board was authorized to inaugurate a campaign to raise a million and a half dollars and the General Board of Education was instructed to make a survey of the educational situation.[22]

After a half century of agitation, it appears that the synod is committed to the maintenance of a common institution of collegiate rank, although at the synodical convention of 1930 the proposition to place the seminary under a separate board reappeared and the possibility of its removal to another location was suggested. What action the immediate future will precipitate may only be conjectured; in any case it seems to be well within the realm of fact that there will never be reasonable satisfaction with the educational situation until the theological seminary receives an independent status, even though it is not removed from the college campus.

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[21] P. O. Bersell, in *Lutheran Companion,* February 19, 1927.

[22] At the Omaha convention a committee appointed by the board presented the findings of an " Educational Survey." It is printed in the minutes for 1927. The percentage of Lutheran students enrolled was as follows: Augustana, 53 per cent; Gustavus Adolphus, 96 per cent; Bethany, 54 per cent; and Upsala, 35 per cent. At the meeting of the New York Conference in 1930 it was reported that only 29 per cent of the students at Upsala College were from Lutheran homes; this prompted the inquiry why Swedish Lutherans should tax themselves to educate Methodists, Catholics, and Jews. Report of J. L. Benson, in *Lutheran Companion,* May 31, 1930.

It was not until the last decade that the leaders became fully aware of the fact that the educational institutions maintained and supported by synod and conferences were faced with a crisis and that it might become necessary to reorganize the entire educational program. The academies dropped by the wayside in competition with the consolidated schools and the junior colleges were threatening the life of the church colleges. The difficulties of preserving what had been regarded as permanent have shattered the grandiose dream of "Augustana University" that appealed to the imagination in the nineties. In 1891, a time of prosperity, the Augustana University Association was founded, largely through the initiative of a student, Carl A. Rosander. In general its program was to support and expand the college, but the immediate purpose was to purchase a tract of land that adjoined the college property and that was about to be carved into residential lots. The initial payment was made with borrowed money, but the hard times that followed made it impossible to collect pledges and the title to the land remained uncertain. Indeed, it appeared that the cause was lost until, through the instrumentality of G. Leander Peterson, Senator C. J. A. Ericson of Boone, Iowa, pledged himself to donate $12,800 if an equal sum was raised, a condition fulfilled at the close of 1899.[23] The "university grounds" thus became a part of the campus, but an athletic field, instead of a university quadrangle, attracts young men and women to the section known as Ericson Field. In 1903 the Augustana University Association, at its own request, was taken over by the board of directors of Augustana College.

The course of events since the death of Hasselquist in 1891 has more or less borne out his contention that the Swedish Lutherans were unable to support more than one college in competition with the state universities. Much money and energy have been wasted in paying deference to conference and sectional loyalty. The founding of educational institutions was a laudable ambition on the part of the Swedes in various parts of the country, but optimism got the better of prudence and foundations were laid without carefully estimating the cost of the completed structure. Moreover, the institutions were hampered in somewhat the same way as were the state universities when the state legislatures interfered with their administrative officials and withheld from them powers that properly belonged to them. From 1888 to 1925 full professors and the president of Augustana College and Theological Seminary were elected on the floor of the synod; in the latter year, however, that power was delegated to the board of directors. But the election by this body of certain individuals to the theological faculty proved to be so unpopular that in 1931 the synod restored the old method of electing theological professors and the president of Augustana College and Theological Seminary. Similarly, some of the conference institutions elect the permanent members of their staffs at the annual conventions.

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[23] Aron Edström, "En svensk-amerikansk mecenat, Senator C. J. A. Ericson." *Prärieblomman,* 1911, pp. 220–230; *Valkyrian,* October, 1899.

It is obvious that this method of recruiting faculty men is not calculated to produce the best results. Not every educator is willing to have his qualifications scrutinized before a public assembly. The non-aggressive, unexceptional man, whose very mediocrity protects him from enemies, stands a far better chance of election than the man of vision, originality, and positive personality. However that may be, many pastors are of the opinion that the chance of "heresy" creeping into the classrooms is lessened measurably by the scrutiny of a larger body, which is representative of the constitutency of the institutions.[24] The element that admits that this is good democracy but poor educational policy has thus far been in the minority. The majority, they claim, are not able to discern the significance of the transformation in the character of the student bodies of their colleges within the last quarter of a century.

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[24] It was charged on the floor of the synodical convention at Jamestown, New York, in 1931 that the board of directors of Augustana College and Theological Seminary in electing professors had emphasized scholarship at the expense of "spirituality." At the same convention the editor of the *Lutheran Companion* was criticized for publishing articles tinged with "modernism." Curiously enough, this convention, which took from the board of directors the power to elect theological professors, also vested in the Board of Christian Literature the power to elect the editors of *Augustana* and the *Lutheran Companion,* which up to that time had been in the hands of the synod. The fact that the board of directors had dropped three members of the theological faculty in 1931 may have injected the personal equation into the matter of educational policy.

Though the historian of the Augustana Synod has the disagreeable duty of recording a series of failures and disasters in the field of education, a much brighter chapter might be written on its charitable institutions. Pastors and laymen have never come to a clear understanding of the character and needs of a first-class educational institution, but they have had a high sense of obligation in regard to the duty of the church to minister to the aged, the widow, the orphan, and the victim of disease. Every conference maintains one or more institutions dedicated to the service of those who stand in need of assistance; and appeals for funds in behalf of Christian charity have been met with large contributions. In the number of its charitable institutions in proportion to its constituency the Augustana Synod is in the very front rank of American Protestant churches.

CHAPTER XXV

LIFE ON THE CAMPUS OF A SWEDISH-AMERICAN EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTION

IN attempting to portray the life on the campus of a Swedish-American educational institution we shall take Augustana College and Theological Seminary as typical. This institution antedated Gustavus Adolphus and Bethany and was situated, after its removal to Rock Island in 1875, in a rather more cosmopolitan region. For these reasons the process of Americanization perhaps proceeded more rapidly there than elsewhere, but down to 1900, at least, the college was thoroughly representative of Swedish-America. The student body, with few exceptions, was recruited from Swedish rural and urban communities from the Atlantic to the Rockies; and the faculty, with the exception of a few imported individuals who instructed in subjects "foreign" to most of the teachers, was indigenous to Swedish-America. The citizens of Rock Island and Moline spoke rather disdainfully of it as the "Swede college," a name that described it accurately, although the student body almost to a man, perhaps, resented the characterization.

An Augustana student could be spotted anywhere, for he had all the earmarks of a candidate for the ministry, although after the conservatory of music and business college were added in the eighties, there were individuals who neither in dress nor conduct resembled the "student" who preached on Sunday and conducted parochial school during the summer months. As late as the opening of the academic year 1882, not a single woman had enrolled and not until the close of the year 1885 was there a woman's name on the roll of alumni.[1] It was only the very exceptional pioneer who believed that higher education was either necessary or suitable for his daughter. Indeed, his conception of a student was a solemn individual garbed in a Prince Albert, "stiff shirt," "stand-up collar," and white tie. The students themselves appeared to consider this costume peculiarly academic, for many of them appeared in the classrooms day after day dressed in this regalia.

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[1] *Ungdomsvännen,* September 1, 1882, June 17, 1885. Coeducation was never a topic of acrimonious discussion on the floor of conference and synod. The president of *Minnesota Elementar Skola* as early as 1864 reported that one of the women students "has completed the course which under present conditions satisfies the requirements for those who have the teaching profession in view."

Before 1900 the student who was not wholly or partially dependent upon his earnings as a supply preacher and parochial school teacher was envied by the vast majority. He was, in most cases, the son of a prosperous farmer, and he took an abbreviated course in the academy or more often enrolled in the business college. Students headed for the ministry, as they became more numerous, were dubbed "P. C."[2] The necessary expenses were low, and both the pietistic viewpoint of the students and the rules of the institution prohibited attendance at the theater or the dance, even if their pocketbooks had allowed indulgence in such worldly amusements. Moreover, the theological candidate was intensely serious and burned the midnight oil over Greek verbs instead of over a deck of cards. Each class had a "custos," and if that important guardian of morals and conduct reported that tobacco smoke was issuing from the transom of a room in the dormitory, the offending student would on the morrow find himself in the presence of President Hasselquist, a sworn enemy of the noxious weed. In the eighties an anti-tobacco society held regular meetings, and in 1887 the synod prohibited smoking, a regulation that caused the faculty to hold an inquisition within a few months.[3] Beneficiaries of the student aid fund were sometimes notified that their stipends would be cut off unless they abandoned the habit. Motives of economy rather than moral scruples probably influenced this synodical legislation, for then, as well as later, a very respectable proportion of the members of the ministerium indulged in the pleasure that was denied to the students. Upon being asked by a student whether or not the use of tobacco was a sin, Hasselquist is reported to have said, " No, but it is a nasty mess."

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[2] "Preacher candidate."

[3] Letter from "Andrew," in *Skaffaren och Minnesota Stats Tidning,* March 11, 1885; *Framåt,* December 17, 1887. The minutes of the Education Committee are in manuscript form in the Denkmann Memorial Library.

Early in its career the synod went on record in favor of temperance, and during the last thirty or more years the adoption of resolutions indorsing the Anti-Saloon League has been an annual event; but a number of ministers, in whom Old-World customs were strongly ingrained, have not conformed strictly to these official manifestoes, even in public. Students were prohibited from visiting saloons and pool halls, but Rock Island with a brewery and over fifty saloons offered temptations that ensnared even those who did not bear the evil repute of the " business boys." Moreover, in those days " malt extract," although far more powerful than Volsteadian " near beer," was a perfectly legitimate form of indulgence for a divinity student and became so popular that among the irreverent it was known as " seminary beer."

These are the exceptions, however, that prove the rule. The student who spent the summer conducting parochial school was expected to be a model of virtue and to conduct himself after the manner of a person who led prayer meetings and religious services, just as he did at the regular Saturday night prayer meetings at college. If his services had been satisfactory to the members of the congregation, he felt no embarrassment after his return to the campus in the fall in comparing notes with his fellow students when they talked over their summer's experience and related the amount of the collection taken on the last Sunday for the benefit of " the student." He might even relate proudly that he had been tendered a " surprise "; that is, that on a ceremonial occasion marked by many speeches he had been presented with a purse. Best of all, he might announce proudly that he had won the hand of a wealthy farmer's daughter. Many a " preacher's wife " dated the inception of her reign over a parsonage from the sojourn of " the student " in the congregation and perhaps in her parents' home. In course of time it even began to be suspected that daughters of prosperous farmers took up their abode in Rock Island for a year to " take music " in order to improve their chances of joining the sorority of ministers' wives.

It was taken for granted that every student attended Sunday religious services; but after the number of non-theological students had increased, the rule was made that at the Monday chapel services a statement certifying church attendance had to be handed to the "custos." Down to 1899 the chapel exercises were conducted in Swedish and English in alternate weeks. Students unable to understand Swedish were excused from services in that language, but such students were few in number. The chapel services were staid and dignified, and anything not in keeping with the solemnity of the occasion was excluded. Professors took turns in reading portions of Scripture and offering prayer. At the Sunday breakfast table in the dining hall devotional exercises were conducted by students, alternately in Swedish and English.

Student activities other than church work were few. The regular routine included attendance at one of the two literary societies on Friday evenings. Both the Phrenokosmian and Adelphic societies, even as late as the first two or three years of the present century, used Swedish and English in turn. After a program of music, declamations, debates, and addresses, a more or less humorous paper, "Phrenokosmiana," or "Censor," was read. Occasionally a sharp thrust directed at individuals, usually students, was included in the columns, but more often the sheets were inoffensive. At the conclusion of the program, "the boys took the girls home." Not a few willingly endured the ordeal of the program in anticipation of this event. During the last decade the cinema has superseded the literary societies in popularity, and the Adelphic has ceased to exist. Interest in Swedish literature was promoted by *Svenska Vitterhetssällskapet* and *Tegnér Förbundet,* and forensics were encouraged by three or four debating societies, which usually held weekly meetings. An oratorical contest between representatives of the four college classes was an annual event equal in importance to football contests in later college generations. In the Students' Union the college had an organization that included the entire campus population. The Lyceum, a smaller group, sponsored the publication of a literary annual, *Balder,* from 1890 to 1891 and the *Lyceum Annual* from 1892 to 1894. Both Swedish and English contributions appeared in their pages. In 1902 this organization assumed responsibility for a monthly, *Augustana Observer,* which eventually became a weekly. Not until 1900 did the first class annual appear, and this publication did not appear regularly until 1910. The freshman-sophomore "scrap" originated during Roosevelt's administration.

The commencement exercises brought Swedes from far and near. This annual event was a sort of Mardi Gras for the members of the Augustana Synod, without the embellishments, of course, of the New Orleans festival. A visitor from Sweden in 1908 was surprised to learn that, except in the seminary, the exercises were entirely in English and that the graduates wore cap and gown.[4] The knowledge of this fact would have caused Olof Olsson to turn in his grave. In 1897, during his administration, the seniors petitioned to be allowed to wear the traditional American academic garb, but Olsson replied that he would not appear on the platform if they did. This was consistent with his dislike for ostentation and display, which extended even to a dislike of the clerical garb. Shortly after Andreen succeeded him, the change was made. A few years later the seniors discontinued the custom of wearing the white student caps imported from Sweden.

An institution maintained by a church that frowned upon secret societies could hardly be expected to look with favor upon fraternities and sororities, and from the beginning these were prohibited; but the desire of students — even Swedish-American students — to have Greek letters appended to their names in the class annual could not be repressed in later years. These societies are not affiliated with intercollegiate organizations and until recently they had no chapter houses. In the Andreen administration the presentation of plays on the campus itself was inaugurated, much to the dismay of the older pastors. Greek letter societies, however, have come to be accepted as necessary evils, and even students headed for the ministry display fraternity pins with pride and carry loyalty and rivalry with them into the seminary.

Alumni homecomings and reunions are not of the American type, officially at least. Until recently they were solemn affairs, marked by a strong religious tincture. The long-drawn-out programs, in which ministers took the principal rôles, left little time for anything but coffee and Swedish "toasts" to add to the gayety of the occasion. Today, however, a football contest is the great event of the annual homecoming.

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[4] Peter Norden, *En brygga öfver hafvet,* Stockholm, 1909, pp. 119–123.

Until very recent years, the Swedish-American educational institutions did not emulate the example of American colleges and universities in making a fetish of football. The farm boys who drank at the fountains of learning had not been initiated into the strategy of the game at a preparatory or high school, as had so many of the students at sister institutions. Moreover, money was not available for the employment of salaried coaches or the acquisition of the necessary equipment, including an athletic field. Neither was a winning football team necessary as an inducement to prospective students, who were recruited almost exclusively from the ranks of young ministerial candidates. In the early nineties, however, the irreverent students in the business college, aided and abetted by a few college students, organized a football team that very shortly earned the nickname "terrible Swedes." The gladiators purchased their own suits and paid their own railroad fares, and an efficient volunteer coach was found in a former University of Illinois star, who, in accordance with the ethics of the day, played on the team and pursued commercial studies. Strong opposition to the game developed both in the college and in the synod at large. In the fall of 1894 a committee of faculty and students was elected by the respective bodies to make an investigation, and the secretary of the faculty was instructed to correspond with the leading institutions of the country. Twenty-five replies were received, of which the general tenor was that the contests should be kept under strict control, if permitted at all. The final outcome was the prohibition by the faculty of all intercollegiate athletic contests.[5]

A few years later, however, interest in the game revived, and a salaried coach who had won his laurels at the State University of Iowa was employed from 1901 to 1904, in which years the "Swedes" once more were formidable antagonists. But the reform wave that brought radical changes in the athletic policy of the "Big Nine" in 1905 put an end to intercollegiate football at all synodical institutions. Bethany and Augustana were the institutions most seriously affected by the change. There was considerable opposition to this action at the synodical meeting in 1905 and of course within the student bodies, but it was known that the ethics of the game in the synodical institutions were no better than at other universities and colleges. "Ringers" appeared in the line-up of baseball as well as football teams, and the "rooting" at the games and the conduct of students after victories were not more becoming. The indignation of the students, however, was restrained until in the fall of 1906 the board of directors of Augustana College banned intercollegiate basket ball, a sport in which excellent records had been made and in which the interest was intense. A strike of the students resulted; a large sign was posted on the gymnasium reading: "For Rent. Apply to the Board of Directors;" and an unseemly demonstration was made in the presence of certain members of the board. After a brief holiday, however, the students returned to their classes. Disciplinary measures were taken by the faculty and apologies were tendered by the offenders.[6]

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[5] E. Stenholm, "Augustana College Notes," *Augustana Journal*, February, 1895; E. Norelius, *Augustana*, February, 1, 1894.

Intercollegiate contests were restored in 1911, but football was not permitted until 1917. In recent years sporting news concerning Augustana, Bethany, Gustavus Adolphus, and Upsala has appeared not only in the Sunday sports section but even in the church press. The clerical estate, if it has withheld its approval, has at least not voiced any actual disapproval. It is suspected that the clergyman who reads of the exploits of his son on the gridiron feels the same pride that thrills less pious parents. In regard to football it may be said that the Americanization of Swedish-American colleges is complete. The Augustana strike lingers in the memory of college presidents, and the recollection is perhaps made more vivid by the activity of alumni and the business men of the cities.

Throughout the nineteenth century it was assumed that every student registered for Swedish courses; only the few took the "scientific course," in which Swedish was elective. However, the classes in Swedish dwindled until after the war they were no larger than those in Latin and Greek. In the aggregate very little has been done by the Swedish-American institutions for the promotion of Swedish culture. Nearly all the students have been familiar with the rudiments of the language at the time of matriculation, many of them spoke Swedish on the campus, and in the classroom they read the masterpieces of Swedish literature. But there has been no constructive program designed to make the colleges centers of Swedish culture, and there have been no exchange professors and no foundation lectures. There has been a disposition, characteristically Swedish, to avoid the name "Swedish" and to emphasize the "American" part of the hyphenated term. This attitude has influenced, for example, the courses in Christianity. The catalogues have emphasized that religious instruction is nonsectarian, although this naturally does not apply to courses in the seminary. As a result it is doubtful whether any considerable number of students have left the college halls with an adequate understanding of the history of Sweden and its profound religious, social, and economic transformation within the last fifty years, or an appreciation of the best features in Swedish culture and life.

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[6] Account of the affair by President Andreen, in *Augustana,* November 15, 1906.

In fact, Swedish-America has lost contact with the mother country. Augustana pastors who have visited Sweden have been surprised to learn that their speech is the Swedish of 1860. In doctrine the Augustana Synod today is just where it was in 1860, whereas the Church of Sweden, in fact if not in theory, is leagues removed from its former confessional basis. It is true that in oratorical contests and on programs of literary societies the students chose such subjects as "Gustavus Adolphus," "The Fight at Brunkeberg," "Almquist," and "Sveaborg," but the importance of these facts can easily be overemphasized. With the exception of the collection of a considerable body of material relating to the history of the Swedes in the United States, an achievement due principally to the efforts of Claude W. Foss, professor of history, very little work of a productive nature has been done.[7] The faculty, with few exceptions, have shown little interest and the pastors have not shown more. About three years after the publication of the first volume of his history of the Swedish Lutheran church in the United States, Erik Norelius wrote that he was in doubt about continuing the second because of the thanklessness of pursuing work that did not interest the public for which it was written. In the course of the three years since its appearance on the market, he wrote, only sixteen hundred copies had been disposed of, of which not more than one hundred had been sold in the previous two years. He had received only eight hundred dollars in royalties on the total sales.[8]

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[7] In 1890 Professor J. A. Udden appealed to the people of the synod to send to the Augustana museum articles to build up a Swedish ethnographical collection. *Augustana,* July 3, 1890. The Augustana Historical Society was organized in June, 1930.

The " language question," as we shall have occasion to show later, was one of the most vexatious problems that confronted the synod, and the administration of Augustana College could not expect to escape criticism, whatever policy it decided to follow. Before the close of the eighties, instruction through the medium of the Swedish language was given only in courses in Swedish, in Swedish history, and to some extent in Christianity.[9] *Hemlandet,* edited by Johan A. Enander, who for a time was professor of Swedish, was an uncompromising champion of Swedish and sharply critical of the steady encroachment of English at the college.[10] President Hasselquist replied to his strictures by stating that in the early years, when Swedish was of necessity the prevailing language at the college, the charge had been provoked that an effort was being made to perpetuate the influence of the church over the Swedes by keeping them in bondage to the language. But today, continued Hasselquist, we are criticized because we are said to be trying to kill Swedish. His defense was that an effort had been made to steer a middle course. Swedish was recognized as having a proper place in the curriculum, one that it would hold as long as immigration continued and the present generation was in the ascendancy; but it was also recognized that the Swedes were too few in number to preserve it as a living language. The president was of the opinion that the children of the rising generation should learn Swedish for the sake of proper relations with their parents, but that a distinction should be made between the study of language and of literature. Only those who aspired to become scholars should study the latter. He was in favor of having two professorships in Swedish: one of the language and one of literature. He wisely insisted that the students should be taught to think in English.[11]

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[8] *Augustana,* May 25, 1893.

[9] C. M. Esbjörn, in *Hemvännen,* February 11, 1888.

[10] It is possible that Enander used this line of attack partly for the purpose of discrediting the college, since he was in favor of moving the seminary to Chicago. *Hemlandet* during March, April, and May, 1890, published considerable correspondence pertaining to the moving of the seminary.

In 1899 the synod, after a lengthy discussion, approved the recommendation of the board of directors that English should be used exclusively at the chapel exercises. This recommendation prompted the charge of a Minnesota editor that the purpose back of it was to get the good will of the people of the three cities on account of the heavy debt that rested on the college. President Olsson's explanation was that some of the students could not understand Swedish and some did not have Swedish blood in their veins.[12]

Shortly after his elevation to the presidency in 1901, Gustav Andreen had occasion to contradict a feature article in a Chicago paper, which alleged that under the new president the college would cease to be Swedish and Lutheran. Andreen insisted that he would strive to keep the college loyal to Swedish and to Lutheran principles, and stated that he had induced students to register for Swedish courses who had not intended to do so. " I believe that Swedish has been crowded out enough at our common institution," he wrote. " I know that it will be a hard battle to retain our Swedish language in its purity, but in this struggle I shall without reservation enlist on the side of the Swedish." [13] Andreen's administration spanned a longer period of time than that of his two predecessors and he lived to see an almost complete victory for English not only in the college but in the seminary, where a mere handful of ministerial candidates now study Swedish homiletics. The regional character of the student body has also put the college well on the way toward secularization, and subjects have crept into the curriculum that were never even proposed during the tenures of Hasselquist and Olsson. All of this means, of course, that the Augustana Synod colleges have fallen victims to American standardization. The graduate of 1900, walking on the campus today, finds the student body as " foreign " to him as thirty years ago he would have found the campus population of the State University of Iowa. Upon reflection he will realize that Augustana College today is what the Augustana Synod will be a generation hence.

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[11] *Augustana,* May 8, 1890. In reply to *Hemlandet* Professor Foss contended that, while Swedish should be cultivated as long as immigration continued, nothing should be done to build up unassimilated national minorities in the United States. Care should be taken not to implant in children the love of the fatherland felt by the parents. *Augustana,* May 15, 1890.

[12] C. A. Hultkrans, in *Ungdomsvännen,* February, May, 1899.

[13] *Augustana,* October 17, 1901.

The faculty of Augustana College, despite the poverty of the professors, for a long time preserved the staid and dignified academic traditions of Sweden. The professors expected and received the deferential respect of the students, who tipped their hats and considered themselves fortunate if certain individuals deigned to recognize them. In the classroom there was an almost complete absence of the frivolity prevalent in many American institutions, except for the merriment occasioned by certain eccentric individuals who provide amusement and opportunities for pranks on every campus. Hasselquist from the beginning engaged " English " professors, and two of them, Edward Fry Bartholomew, professor of English, and Andrew Woods Williamson, professor of mathematics, had long and honorable careers in the college, although *Hemlandet* voiced a protest when the latter was elected vice president in 1887.[14]

True to their Lutheran origin, the Augustana Synod institutions have always preserved a strong conservatism along all lines. Inquisitions have been few because there has been no occasion for them. If there have been any social and political radicals — and this is doubtful — they have been inarticulate. Throughout the years the Republican party has never had a more loyal adherent than Augustana College as a collective body, and the college was merely a reflection of Swedish political affiliations. Whatever its deficiencies, the infection of its youth with radicalism through its educational system cannot be charged to the Augustana Synod. The educational standards have perhaps measured up to those of the average American college, and the alumni rolls compare favorably in quality with those of other institutions of equal rank. The requirements of the North Central Association have lightened the unreasonably heavy teaching loads and have brought men with advanced degrees to the staff. The boards of directors, like those of other church institutions, have in the past been manned by ministers, farmers, and business men, but in more recent years the tendency to elect men of academic experience has increased. At the synodical convention of 1930 one woman and two university professors were elected to the board of Augustana College.

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[14] *Framåt*, December, 1887.

Notwithstanding the influential and honorable rôle of the Swedish-American colleges, only a very small proportion of the Swedish population of the country has chosen to study in their halls. Many of the alumni, including pastors, send their children to other institutions. The day is past when men and women were attracted to them because they were Swedish. In fact, parents and their children avoid them because of their Swedish associations. The children of the Swedish-American pastors feel thoroughly at home on the campus of a state university. Certain individuals still harbor a lingering fear of the "atheistic" universities, but closer contact with them through their sons and daughters and friends usually dispels even that.[15]

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[15] Among the sources for this chapter the following may be cited: catalogues, class annuals, and college papers (*Augustana Observer, Bethany Messenger, Gustavus Adolphus Breezes*); correspondence in *Augustana, Augustana Journal, Lutheran Companion, Alumnus,* and *Hemlandet;* C. W. Foss, "The First Days of Augustana College," *Alumnus,* September, October, November, December, 1892; E. W. Olson, "Vyer och interiörer från Augustana College," *Valkyrian,* July, 1898; Carl Swensson, "När skolverksamheten i Svensk-Amerika var ung. Några hågkomster från det gamla Augustana College," *Prärieblomman,* 1902, pp. 205–228; Aron Edström, "Svensk-amerikanska skolminnen," *Prärieblomman,* 1904, pp. 199–212; Gustav Andreen, "Ekon från jubelfesten," *Prärieblomman,* 1911, pp. 150–168; J. A. Broden, "Några studentminnen och kulturbilder," *Ungdomsvännen,* May, July, October, 1908; H. O. Lindeblad, "Augustana College and Theological Seminary, 1866," *Ungdomsvännen,* December, 1909.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE AUGUSTANA PASTOR

THROUGHOUT the years many and diverse statements have been made about the Augustana Synod pastors, one of which was that they were "young farmers' sons with a little theological varnish." Undoubtedly a number of them have been ordained whose qualifications left much to be desired. In 1867 Hasselquist wrote to Wieselgren that in spite of the existence of a seminary, the need for pastors was so great that it was necessary to send them out without adequate training; and some twenty years later Carl Swensson stated that the education of pastors had not kept pace with the progress of education in the synod as whole; he cited the fact that in 1890 only two of the twenty seminary graduates held college degrees. It is not true that the synod has frowned upon an educated ministry, as did the early Mission Friends, for example, but the quality of the teaching has fallen far short of the seminary's ideal.[1] The textbook method of instruction has been used too extensively, and as a result incentive and stimulation to independent study have been lacking. The seminary was not a genuine graduate school, and the few students who were products of non-Lutheran colleges or who had pursued advanced work at universities were repelled by the attitude in the classroom. There has been in addition a tendency to suspect universities and to question the doctrinal soundness of their products. In commenting on the small number that matriculated in the seminary in 1904, Erik Norelius attributed the fact to the influence of public schools and universities, declaring that many students who had pursued graduate work at universities had lost interest in theological study. He also feared that those who had studied at universities and applied for ordination would be forever alien — never, as he said,

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[1] Tancred Boissy, *Svenska nationaliteten i Förenta Staterna,* Gothenburg, 1882, pp. 14–15; Hasselquist to Wieselgren, January 8, 1867; *Augustana,* January 16, 1890.

"one of us."[2] In social background and cultural interests the Augustana pastor was inferior to the parish pastor in Sweden; on the other hand, he was a more effective pastor and he understood the innermost thoughts, problems, and spirit of his people to a degree that the pastor in Sweden never approached. Erik Norelius, for example, educated and ordained in the United States, had lived the life of a pioneer and had served on mission fields, and had thus acquired an insight into the problems of the church that no course in pastoral theology could supply.[3]

Whatever else he may or may not have been, the Augustana pastor was undoubtedly one of the most orthodox, conservative Protestant ministers in the country. The earlier pastors were strongly influenced by the evangelistic and pietistic revivals in Sweden and during their brief sojourn in the academy, college, and seminary were thoroughly indoctrinated and shielded from all forms of "heresy." Doctrinal emphasis has been the protective coloring of the synod, partly, no doubt, as a result of the proselyting activities of Methodists, Baptists, and Mission Friends. Anders R. Cervin, a brother-in-law of Hasselquist, wrote to Wieselgren upon his return to Sweden in 1858 that he was more confirmed in the Lutheran confession than ever, and Esbjörn's testimony was to the same effect.[4] The church life was influenced to some extent by the religious movements in Sweden, but their products in the ministry were quite thoroughly absorbed and no sectarianism resulted. In fact, in no synod or church did the individual pastors conform more closely to a single pattern or mold than in the Augustana Synod.[5] On his visit to the United States in 1910, a pastor in the Church of Sweden observed that the Augustana Synod had not kept pace with the development of the "mother church." He found so many old forms alive that sometimes he had the feeling that he had suddenly been moved back several years.[6] In no small degree was the pastor influenced by his congregation. The pietistic strain of the members was so strong that no pastor would be tolerated who did not share their views, which were essentially those of the New England Puritan. Peter Sjöblom wrote from Red Wing, Minnesota, that he had not been in the congregation long enough to know much about it, except that it apparently included several "Jönköping Christians," a group who usually caused pastors trouble.[7]

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[2] Berger, *Svensk-amerikanska meditationer,* 70–71; *Augustana,* October 20, 1904.

[3] A good portrayal of a pastor in the nineties is found in G. N. Malm, *Charli Johnson,* Chicago, 1909, pp. 62–71. Nils F:son Brown, "The Swedes among Us," *American Mercury,* May, 1926, is a caustic indictment.

[4] Cervin to Wieselgren, August 7, 1858; Esbjörn to Hasselquist, December 2, 1859.

[5] Hasselquist to Wieselgren, July 17, 1867. An effort is made to delineate the types of piety and the products of the Fjellstedt, Ahlberg, and Johannelund institutes in S. G. Hägglund, "Types of Piety in the Augustana Synod — Schartauism," *Augustana Quarterly,* December, 1928, and in Berger, *Svensk-amerikanska meditationer,* 68–69.

It is a curious paradox that the synod should have taken a position of uncompromising hostility to revivals of the Billy Sunday and Gipsy Smith type, in spite of the fact that a large proportion of its pastors came from Småland, the province of the "preaching sickness" and revivalism. The explanation probably is that in Sweden the early folk preachers were in the state church, whereas in America they were proselyters in the service of other denominations. In 1871 three-eighths of the pastors were Smålännings; by 1891, however, the natives of Västergötland and Värmland had increased in number. In that year the various provinces were represented as follows: Småland, 85; Västergötland, 43; Värmland, 32; Östergötland, 28; Skåne, 25; Halland, 15; Dalarna, 14; the numbers from other provinces ranged from 9 to 3. Northern Sweden, as the emigration statistics would lead one to expect, was poorly represented. More than half of the pastors were from the first three provinces, where the religious movements were strong.[8] There were 22 native Americans. In 1927, of the 822 pastors, 500 were born in Sweden and 322 in the United States. The graduating seminary classes since 1920 have included a very small number of natives of Sweden.[9]

The pastors have been recruited principally from two classes. There were, first, mature men who immigrated and did manual labor for a few years before answering the "inner call." Some of these men were in their thirties when they abandoned the plow or anvil. Håkan Olson represents the extreme of this type; he came to the United States at the age of twenty-one and found work as a blacksmith, then, upon the encouragement of Hasselquist, studied privately under his direction while the latter was pastor of the congregation at Galesburg before the Civil War. Olson next began to preach in homes and to interview individuals. On one occasion he came to a home where arrangements had been made to hold a prayer meeting. At the door he found a man who offered a drink of whiskey to each entrant and who avowed that Olson could not be admitted without partaking of his portion. But he reckoned without the visitor. The blacksmith's muscles were powerful enough to lift the man and set him down on the table with such force that glasses, bottles, and table were damaged in the process.[10] People are still alive who remember the visits of the kindly man, who joined the family circle and puffed his long-stemmed pipe as he reviewed old times with the head of the household.

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[6] Pehrsson, *Hälsning från Augustana-synoden,* 14–15.
[7] Sjöblom to Wieselgren, May 18, 1869.
[8] Analysis of synodical statistics, in *Fosterlandet,* December 16, 1891.
[9] S. G. Hägglund, in *Augustana Quarterly,* December, 1928.

Clergymen of the second type came to the country as children or were native born, but until the last two decades many of them — perhaps the great majority — were far from proficient in the English language until the last two decades.

The Augustana clergyman was expected to be preacher, pastor, and financial manager. In the city his congregation was composed of housemaids, housewives, and manual laborers, and in the country his parishioners were farmers and farm hands and their families. There was usually a layman in the parish who was willing to read from a book of sermons in the absence of the pastor, but the pastor was compelled to assume the leadership, whether in the erection of a church or as the presiding officer of the Ladies' Aid Society. The first generation of the immigrant church did not produce leaders among the laymen. The business meetings of the congregation were in striking contrast with the *sockenstämma* (parish meeting) in Sweden, at which experienced men presided and steered it in parliamentary channels. Most of the men in Swedish-American congregations had belonged to the nonlandholding classes in Sweden and had not been allowed to take part as voters there; thus they were without experience in dealing with congregational matters. Sometimes sharp words were bandied between persons from various parts of Sweden, who differed in temperament, point of view, and dialect. On at least one occasion it was reported that when the question of building a church came before the meeting, all the members, including the pastor, lighted pipes and engaged in a long discussion.[11]

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[10] C. J. E. Haterius, "Några minnesord om Pastor Håkan Olson," *Ungdomsvännen,* November, 1904.

It was natural that in certain cases the pastor became dictatorial and acquired an exaggerated idea of his importance. In Sweden the parish pastor was usually the most important person in the community and he received homage in keeping with his exalted position. It was natural that the son of a humble peasant, elevated to a somewhat similar station in America after having been sought after as a rich prize by numerous girls during his student days, should stand on his dignity and feel his bosom swell with pride when he was addressed, let us say, as "Pastor Peterson." He aspired to offices in synod and conference, and thus it came about that the clerical estate monopolized these positions after the appearance of laymen competent and willing to fill them. Perhaps this situation resulted in part from the fact that whereas in Sweden the pastor was practically independent of the congregation, the Swedish-American pastor's tenure and salary were contingent largely on the good will of his parishioners, a circumstance that made him energetic and ambitious to receive calls from other congregations.

One recommendation for advancement and election to office was the possession of the title of doctor. "Title sickness" has taken heavy toll among the Augustana pastors, who spring from a people inordinately fond of titles. Down to about 1890 there was only one "doctor" in the Augustana Synod, but the epidemic spread like wildfire after the bestowal of several royal decorations on the occasion of the jubilee festival at Rock Island in 1893.[12] In the absence of a crowned head in the domain of Swedish-America, the educational institutions stepped into the breach and conferred D. D.'s in wholesale lots. In this indiscriminate orgy of decorating, pastors who could not conjugate the present indicative of a Greek verb received doctors' degrees, together with all the prestige that the title implies. In more recent years, through the instrumentality of Swedish consuls, who have become more friendly to the Augustana Synod than in the earlier period, and of the Society for the Preservation of Swedish Culture in Foreign Lands, His Majesty has been pleased to allow royal stars to fall in showers. One of the most conspicuous features of souvenir church albums published in recent years is a series of photographs of ecclesiastical dignitaries in academic gowns, on many of which a gaudy royal insignia shines forth from the academic or clerical darkness.

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[11] Aron Edström, in *Prärieblomman,* 1900, pp. 142–148. For an amusing and accurate account of a congregational meeting, see Malm, *Charli Johnson,* 162–171.

[12] O. Olsson, in *Hemvännen,* October 15, 1887; *Ungdomsvännen,* January, 1887.

In Sweden the farmer's cap was removed in the presence of pastor, lawyer, banker, and almost anyone else wearing a white collar or spectacles; but in Swedish-America this distinction was reserved solely for the pastor, unless perchance a professor from Augustana, Gustavus Adolphus, or Bethany visited the congregation. Fortunately, in both realms the pastor's wife shared the husband's title; she became "Mrs. Reverend So-and-So." The doctor's title in some instances better became her than it did her partner, but such irreverent suggestions never passed over the cups at the coffee social.

The Augustana sermon was "made" in the seminary. Unlike the sermon delivered from the pulpit in Sweden, it was seldom— almost never — read from manuscript. In 1887, Olof Olsson stated that there was not a single clergyman in the synod who knew how to read a sermon.[13] It was invariably sound from a doctrinal standpoint and free from sensationalism, except in the earlier years perhaps, when conditions sometimes called forth personalities or an answer to an attack in *Svenska Amerikanaren* or some other "atheistic" sheet. The attempt at oratory usually produced a chanting intonation, which even some of the recently ordained display. Secular themes have generally been taboo, but the younger pastor of today, in an effort to be "modern," may borrow a popular catch phrase or make reference to Hollywood. The Swedish liturgy at the morning services was that of the Church of Sweden, with minor modifications, and the "best preachers" chanted, sometimes greatly to the discomfiture of the young man or woman who had "studied music" at Rock Island or Lindsborg. In *Charli Johnson,* that delightful and truthful story of pioneer life in Nebraska in the nineties, the Swedish immigrant, with more education than ordinary mortals, finds upon his first attendance at the morning service that liturgy and sermon are a cheap counterfeit of the impressive service of the Church of Sweden.[14] In introducing choir singing and soloists the synod early departed from the service as it was performed in Sweden and from Luther's idea of congregational singing.

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[13] *Hemvännen*, October 15, 1887.

It is easy to be unjustly critical of the Swedish-American clergyman if one loses sight of the fact that he was the servant of an immigrant church and that his work was of vastly greater importance as pastor than as preacher. His education was meager and his intolerance was colossal, but he was usually a man convinced of his high mission, and he gave his best to the welfare of his flock. Very often he had two, three, or four flocks and so took on the character of a circuit rider. He preached in the largest church in the forenoon, in another church in the afternoon, and perhaps in a schoolhouse in the evening, to say nothing of attending meetings held during the week, visiting the sick and unfortunate, conducting funerals, baptizing children, and officiating at weddings. On many a day when weather and poor health urged him to remain indoors, Norelius set out from the parsonage at Vasa — a crude log cabin — to bring cheer and consolation to his countrymen scattered over the Minnesota landscape. He often walked from Vasa to Spring Garden, a distance of nine miles including a stretch of unbroken wilderness and another overgrown with thorny bushes, to conduct services in a log cabin. Sometimes his clothing was so badly torn by the time he reached his destination that pins had to be pressed into service in order to make him presentable. In rainy weather the walk through the bushes and long grass drenched him to the skin, and as he stood before the congregation, the water dripped from his clothes. Once at a communion service a mischievous hen flew in the window and amidst much cackling and confusion knocked the sacramental elements to the floor.[15] In 1854 Erland Carlsson on a trip to Minnesota preached seventy-two sermons and organized three congregations, besides performing sacramental rites.[16] Many other pastors could have related similar experiences.

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[14] Malm, *Charli Johnson,* 65–68.

It was not always easy to deal with the Swedish pioneers. So great was the scarcity of ministers that congregations were without regular pastors for months, during which time there was no effective leadership. Jealousy and discord arose, factions appeared, and sometimes rival congregations were organized. When the church in Andover, Illinois, was erected in 1867, a committee, some of whom were intoxicated, waited on Pastor Jonas Swensson and demanded that the cross be removed from the steeple. A congregational meeting was held, at which it was voted to have it taken down, but no one could be found brave enough to perform the feat. At a later meeting it was voted that the cross should remain.[17] At an unruly meeting in East Union, Carver County, Minnesota, in 1861, among the grievances expressed against Pastor Peter Carlson was the charge that in admitting women to membership he had used the word *kvinna* instead of *tjänarinna*.[18] The pastors themselves were not always willing to be bound by rules, and regulations and discipline by synod and conference were difficult to enforce. Pastors sometimes organized new congregations or joined rival ecclesiastical organizations.[19] The language question was fraught with contention. The pastor was criticized sometimes for introducing English services but more often for failing to do so.

The best recommendation a pastor could have was the reputation of being a " good worker and financier." If the congregation prospered and the pastor was popular, he could expect at least one " surprise " each year, in the form of a purse of money or sometimes, in latter days, of an automobile. Sometimes the assurance of a " surprise " was included in the " call." Many country congregations supplied the minister's horse with feed; and his wife's larder was abundantly stocked with butter, cheese, eggs, and milk, as well as with many other good things brought when the members of the flock went to town on a shopping expedition. "Cheesing for the preacher" was an annual event. In these respects the Swedish-American pastor might well be envied by the parish pastor in Sweden, who usually had to be content with the stipulated salary. The explanation of the generosity of the Swedish-American congregations is difficult to find, unless it originated in the practice of the early congregations of paying the pastor's salary partly in kind. In Sweden the pastor was the servant of the state and his salary was paid out of the tax fund, so that the individual was not conscious of sacrificing for the welfare of the community; but in America the pastor and congregation were financed, often inadequately, by voluntary contributions. Moreover, the humblest individual was a welcome guest in the Swedish-American parsonage and the pastor and his wife were on cordial social terms with the members of their congregations, whereas in Sweden it was very exceptional for anyone to pay a social call at the parsonage.

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[15] E. Norelius, " Hågkomster från 1856," *Korsbaneret,* 1890, pp. 117–119.

[16] Communication of Carlsson to *Lutheran Observer,* in the *Missionary,* January, 1855.

[17] For an account of the whole incident see *Korsbaneret,* 1890, pp. 84–85.

[18] *Minneskrift öfver . . ..East Union–församlingen,* 64–65.

[19] Hasselquist to Wieselgren, August 12, 1868.

Many Swedish-American parsonages were better than the homes occupied by the Swedish parish pastors, and in the country one could find replicas of the church properties in Sweden. The parsonage was in proximity to the church. Many pastors had several acres of land at their disposal, which they sometimes cultivated themselves, assisted by the voluntary labor of their parishioners. The Swedish-American pastor was not ashamed of milking and doing the chores of the farm. In fact, it added to his popularity to be seen chopping wood and wielding the scythe. In spite of the fact that much entertaining was done, it was seldom that the parson's wife employed a maid. She often brought up a large family, entertained guests, and took a leading part in church work uncomplainingly and efficiently — usually without due credit from the congregation. It is true that at the "surprise" she might be called to the front of the church after the presentation of the purse or automobile, to receive a bouquet of roses.

As has been stated, the Augustana pastor was ultraconservative. In politics he was an old-line Republican, although he rarely alluded to a political campaign from the pulpit. It happened occasionally that if a member was known to be a Democrat, or what was infinitely worse, a Populist, the pastor and certain members of the church council might wait upon him and endeavor to convince him of the error of his ways. Certain pastors, without much pressure from politicians, have been known to issue statements that were circulated as campaign literature. This happened during the presidential campaign of 1908, when Taft, an avowed Unitarian and the opponent of the fundamentalist Presbyterian Bryan, was indorsed as a " Christian." Some years later, when his free silver heresy was almost forgotten and he was no longer a presidential possibility, Bryan came into his own as the highest type of Christian statesman.

The fundamentalist of the more extreme type, however, has not been successful in enlisting the Augustana pastor in a legislative program to prohibit the teaching of evolution in tax-supported schools. The position of the Swedish Lutheran pastor on this question is probably reflected correctly in resolutions adopted by the Minnesota Conference in 1923. At this convention addresses were made by fundamentalists from other denominations urging the Lutherans to join with them in their legislative program. At the conclusion of their appeal, the veteran Pastor Carl J. Petri of Minneapolis, an avowed conservative, expressed ironical gratification over the fact that other ecclesiastical organizations valued the conservative character of Lutheranism, but cautioned the delegates to the convention against committing themselves to a policy that might lead to misinterpretation and produce more direful results than no action at all. The result of the debate was the approval of resolutions protesting " against the practice of using our public schools for the purpose of fostering a spirit of irreverence and irreligion " and asking school boards to eliminate textbooks that inculcate an anti-Christian interpretation of the evolution theory. The Lutheran Bible Institute of Minneapolis, an institution independent of any synodical control, has on its faculty certain Augustana clergymen who lean in the direction of the more extreme type of fundamentalist. Although it has a far-reaching influence, particularly among certain groups of the laity, it is hardly representative of the Augustana Synod. It radiates rather the spirit of the Mission Covenant, faculty and students being somewhat hyperevangelistic.[20]

The Augustana Synod has never been seriously threatened with the inroads of " modernism " in the ranks of its clergy. Whatever germs may have been imported into the theological seminary by way of the students have been killed by searing words against heresy from the professors. Two Augustana pastors, Claus A. Wendell of Minneapolis and Vergilius Ferm, professor of philosophy in the College of Wooster, are among eleven contributors to a recent symposium, *What is Lutheranism?* The latter is the editor and perhaps the first higher critic in the Augustana ministerium to speak above a whisper.[21] He is a product of Augustana Seminary but took his doctorate at Yale. Wendell, the pastor of a church in the immediate vicinity of the University of Minnesota, was ordained without pursuing a formal theological course of study. It is obvious that these men are not representative of their brother pastors. From the standpoint of orthodoxy the Augustana ministerium is on a par with the other Lutheran synods, but collectively the Augustana clergymen are probably the most pietistic of all. The *läsare* tradition has been constant. Yet the tendency for sons to follow their fathers into the ministry is not nearly so pronounced as in certain other Lutheran synods. Whether the revulsion of children against the sternness of puritanism is a factor here would be an interesting topic for investigation.

In church architecture the Augustana synod has been more American than Swedish and more " reformed " than Lutheran.

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[20] The Lutheran Bible Institute was opened in St. Paul in 1919 and was moved to Minneapolis ten years later. Members of the faculty have been in great demand as leaders of " Bible study " at young people's conventions, and every summer a session is held at Lake Independence, Minnesota. The governing board of the institute is composed of men chosen without reference to synodical affiliation. Some years ago an Augustana pastor resigned from the faculty under pressure because he was known to be contaminated with "modern science." The spirit of the institution is reflected in its organ, the *Bible Banner*.

[21] Vergilius Ferm, *What is Lutheranism? A Symposium in Interpretation*, New York, 1930. For a scathing review of Ferm's contribution see *Augustana*, July 17, 1930. No reference is made to Wendell's chapter, in spite of the fact that his position is somewhat akin to Ferm's. The reviewer calls attention to the fact that the article in the constitution of the Augustana Synod that lays down its doctrinal basis contains the provision that it can never be changed. The dean of the Lutheran Bible Institute, Samuel M. Miller, in an article in the *Bible Banner* (August, 1930) demands the expulsion of Wendell and Ferm.

This is especially true of the edifices erected before 1900. In Sweden church architecture, which was Gothic, had become stereotyped; but the Swedish-American churches are copied from American architecture.[22] The altar, except in the newer structures, does not have a prominent place, and altar and pulpit are one. Moreover, when economic conditions have permitted, the churches have had basements designed for the living instead of for the dead, as in Sweden. Over the opposition of a small minority of pastors the basements have been equipped with kitchens because the majority have understood that coffee socials, oyster suppers, fairs, and bazaars have great drawing power and financial possibilities; and they have not been disposed to quibble over the relative effectiveness of these attractions and the sermon. Norelius breathed the prayer that the congregations might awaken to the dangers of this " snare of Satan," but as yet they have shown no signs of doing so.

Although on a number of major questions synod and conference have allowed a large degree of congregational autonomy, there is in general a high degree of uniformity among the churches. In recent years the trend toward high-church practices has been marked. The younger pastors, a generation or more removed from Hasselquist and Olsson, show a partiality to the gown and a vested choir; they would be horrified at the spectacle of a pastor taking liberties with the liturgy after the fashion of Hasselquist, in spite of the much-vaunted Lutheran liberality in this matter.

Woman suffrage in the church was a topic of acrimonious discussion in the church press in 1906 and 1907, with Peter Sjöblom and Lars G. Almen defending the " scriptural " and therefore conservative side; but victory rested with the women, without any special activity on their part and without any considerable opposition from the men.[23] At the synodical convention in 1930 women were accorded the privilege of election as delegates to its conventions without protracted or heated debate; but as yet they have been denied the right of election to the offices of trustee and deacon.[24]

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[22] Olof Z. Cervin, " Kyrkoarkitekturen," *Prärieblomman,* 1902, pp. 117–121; *Augustana och Missionären,* July 15, August 19, 1885.

[23] See *Augustana* for these years.

[24] See " Tankar i viktiga frågor " by " Johan," *Augustana,* January 1, 1931.

Until after the World War there was no adequate pension fund to assure pastors of a competence after retirement from active service. The laymen, chiefly under the leadership of Henry N. Benson of St. Peter, Minnesota, have been instrumental in collecting a fund, which is a notable achievement, though the amount is still inadequate. Undoubtedly worry over old age and sickness has caused a few pastors to enter the Church of Sweden, but in the aggregate very few have sought admission.[25] Pastors nurtured and experienced in a free church and in the *läsare* atmosphere of the Augustana Synod have neither longed for the state church nor flourished in it.

Augustana pastors have taken great pride in their American citizenship. The few who have not shared this emotion have not thrived in the synod. Longings for a living in the Church of Sweden have usually been dispelled by a visit of six weeks in the Old Country. The files of the church papers embalm many letters from pastors who, sojourning in the land of the midnight sun, gave thanks to God that the Stars and Stripes waved over the land that gave their children birth. And an American-born wife is usually a guarantee that husband and wife will be laid to rest together under the sod of the country whose adopted and native citizens have given them many happy hours in days of sacrifice, privation, and toil.[26]

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[25] In reply to an official communication from the Augustana Synod with reference to admission of its pastors to the Church of Sweden in 1902, Archbishop Ekman stated that graduation from a college and seminary would be a minimum requirement for candidates for the office of curate and that the passing of an examination before the consistory would be required of candidates for rectorship. *Referat,* 1903, p. 106.

[26] Although the complications arising out of the fact that the " Reverend " Olsons, Andersons, and Johnsons were legion perhaps provided a sufficient reason for choosing other surnames, it is significant of the attitudes of these men toward America that many of the new names chosen were English rather than Swedish. Johnson became Hamilton, Olson became Lorimer, Anderson became Wendell, Johnson became Johnston, and so on. More recently it became fashionable to reverse the given name and the surname. Thus Gustav William Peterson was changed to Gustav P. Williams, Lawrence August Peterson to August P. Lawrence, and Oscar Arthur Johnson to Oscar J. Arthur.

CHAPTER XXVII

COMMUNITY LIFE

STUDENTS of immigration are in almost unanimous agreement that the Swedes Americanized more quickly and thoroughly than any other immigrant stock. The explanation is found chiefly in the psychology of the Swedish people. It is undoubtedly true that the church has been the strongest bond of union, as the fact that there are no Swedish-American educational institutions outside the church indicates. But the process of Americanization has proceeded just as rapidly among the church element as among those outside the church. In fact, the church was a balance wheel that kept many individuals on an even keel and assisted in making them into good American citizens. Religion in itself, irrespective of any contributory causes, perhaps played a minor rôle in Swedish emigration; but a study of the *läsare* movement and of the separatistic tendencies in Sweden reveals the important influence of the American example of religious toleration. As an ingredient in the environment of the emigrant and a compelling force in the complicated mental process that resulted in the decision to leave home and friends in favor of a new set of conditions, religion must by all means be taken into account. Similarly, it is clear that although the greater proportion of the immigrants have not affiliated with a church, a study of community life in Swedish-America must take into account the influence of an organization that often directly and still more often indirectly came into their lives. This influence operated in a greater degree, of course, in rural than in urban communities.

It is significant that very few Swedish immigrants have returned to their native land. Before they arrived, America to them represented an ideal, and few of them found the reality disillusioning. In their letters to friends and relatives America was the "Land of Canaan." Why should anyone be hesitant about taking out naturalization papers in the Land of Canaan? America gave them a basis for comparison: church, government, society, and institutions in Sweden appeared in an entirely different light, and the contrast was such that they had little desire to return to the old parish. Instead, they urged the stay-at-homes to follow their example and begin a new life on another continent.

The great mass of the "America letters" written in the first twenty years of the emigration movement were the products of men who had only a meager education. They had grown to manhood before the generation that enjoyed the advantages provided by the act of 1842, according to which every parish was required to provide a public school. The spelling in the letters is faulty, to say the least, and the punctuation is atrocious; but it is notable that, in spite of meager educational facilities, they were able to write. The credit for this belongs largely to the church, though parents and itinerant schoolmasters sometimes taught the children to read and write.

Twenty years or more before the American Civil War, many landholding peasants were subscribers to newspapers. Not a few of them, it is important to note, read the radically liberal Stockholm *Aftonbladet.* Moreover, before 1850 there was a considerable publication of folk literature and emigration literature, in which comparisons were made between Sweden and America. Moreover, the literature read by the upper classes filtered down to the lower strata by means of ministers and itinerants, newspapers, stories of adventure, and other channels.[1] Those intangible forces that mold public opinion must be studied in order to understand the psychology of the immigrant. Many books of travel, some of them like those of Captain Marryat, were translated from the English and published serially in the newspapers. *Uncle Tom's Cabin* attracted a host of readers in the columns of *Aftonbladet.*

Perhaps no individual ever personified more completely the ideals of a country and people than did Abraham Lincoln in the minds of the humble folk of Sweden. After his assassination, papers published his picture and obituary in black bor-

[1] Arne Forssell, *Emigranternas handledning.* Separate from *Svensk Lösen,* Stockholm, 1917; *Malmö Nya Allehanda,* quoted in *Dalpilen,* July 1, 1854.

ders, and for days people talked of nothing else. " Our men clinched their fists in vain fury and our blue-eyed women shed many tears in memory of the remarkable man," said a contemporary.[2] Editors saw a lesson for Europe in the events that took place in America from 1860 to 1865. They admitted — some of them reluctantly — that in practice the mighty American people had shown that their institutions did not hinge on a man's life. President Lincoln had been shot, but he had been succeeded by another man elected by the people. What would have happened in Europe, they asked, if a powerful monarch had been assassinated? Well might thrones shake and the privileged classes turn pale at the news from the powerful people across the water, who ruled themselves so well and so cheaply. Applying the lesson to emigration, Europeans said that the way to keep people at home was to furnish employment and to give them a sense of personal self-respect, to prevent the privileged classes from placing obstacles in the way of individual freedom, and to abolish laws restricting religious freedom.[3] The letters from America echoed the eulogies in the press. " How small and insignificant are the princes by the grace of God in Europe in comparison with this man, who began life as a simple working man and is now head of the world's largest and most powerful republic," wrote an immigrant from Galesburg.[4]

There was a deep strain of pessimism in the attitude of those who remained in Sweden that contrasted with the optimism of the "America letters" in the second and third quarters of the nineteenth century. It was remarked many times, as " the emigrants, as if by agreement, gathered from the various communities on certain days, like migratory swallows," that they left homes, relatives, and friends without apparent regret. They were buoyed up by hopes of better things. "We can't be worse off than we are here," was the refrain from many parties. " Herring, potatoes, and small beer are our daily ration. Meat and milk are rare luxuries. Despite extreme economy, we grow poorer every day. The almshouse will be our last resort if we stay here, but our relatives in America, who once were as poor as we, are well to do. They are honest and we place confidence in what they tell us."[5] "I am going to America and be a gentleman," was the statement of more than one peasant's son; and, "I am going there to marry a merchant, a man who has several millions and many ships," was the refrain of their sisters.[6] The emigrant visualized America as a land where the dignity of the human soul was recognized, where work was honorable, where class distinctions were leveled, and where the future beckoned to a status of economic independence. The equality that the law gives is not the equality of custom. The lack of political rights is comparatively easy to remedy, but social customs are harder to deal with because they are not grounded in law. From his birth the Swede was hampered by restrictive conventions which, though not always seen by the eye, were always felt by the emotions. The walls between the several classes of society were practically insurmountable; a person could not even pass from a higher social class to an inferior one, though the latter better became his nature or economic status, because that would be an everlasting disgrace.[7]

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[2] Isidor Kjellberg, *Stycken på vers och prosa,* Linköping, 1895, p. 39.

[3] *Norrlands-Posten,* May 13, June 1, 1865, November 4, 1869; *Fäderneslandet,* April 29, May 3, 1865.

[4] *Fäderneslandet,* January 4, 1865.

Visitors from Sweden found unusual optimism prevailing in Swedish-American settlements. The immigrants were often touched when reminded of the memories of childhood and relatives, but in reply to the question whether or not they longed to return, the answer was usually "Yes, if we can come as men of means on a visit, but never as workingmen, because they are looked down upon." They made comparisons between Sweden and America. The former was a country of poor journeymen, scanty wages, tyrannical and brutal masters, gloomy future, and high titles. In America there existed no scorn for the common man, no rejoicing over seeing him sweat while others were idle; there were no haughty gentlemen, no uniforms, and no privileged classes.[8] The difficult voyage, ignorance of language and customs, and stories about hard work probably kept few at home. Others had survived the voyage, others had been just as ignorant of language and customs. If there were perchance class distinction in the United States, money would level that. There was little likelihood that the small farmer or renter would be snubbed by the more well-to-do farmer, as in Sweden.

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[5] *Nya Wexjö-Bladet,* May 22, 1869; *Kristianstads-Bladet,* May 6, 1869.

[6] Correspondence from Öland, in *Fäderneslandet,* April 22, 1865.

[7] Numerous citations could be given here to prove that the emigrant longed for relief from the conventions of society. See *Aftonbladet,* January 5, 1842; *Norrlands-Posten,* May 26, 1849; *Skånska Posten,* October 11, 1854; *Fäderneslandet,* May 30, 1866; *Fäderneslandet,* quoted in *Svenska Amerikanaren,* September 16, 23, 1868; *Öresunds Posten,* May 21, 1870; Isidor Kjellberg, in *Minnesota Tidning,* June 9, 1870; *Nya Verlden,* Gothenburg, December, 1872; *Svenska Dagbladet,* Stockholm, June 15, 1907. See also Stephenson, "When America was the Land of Canaan," *Minnesota History,* September, 1929; and G. Thyreen, *Skall jag resa till Amerika?* Stockholm, 1911, p. 156.

It was difficult to think unfavorably of the country that could place a homestead law on its statutes. The following is a eulogy by a cultured clergymen who took a claim in Kansas, and it probably clothes the inarticulate thoughts of many a pioneer:

> A finer law has never been enacted on earth. Where is the country that can boast of such an affectionate and charitable law for the poor? This is the brightest star in the whole galaxy of the Stars and Stripes. When I think of all the settlements I have visited, when I see all the pleasant homes I have visited, which my countrymen have built under toil and difficulties but with the divine reward of having their own homes, my heart leaps with joy, especially when I see it all in the light of history and know that only a few centuries ago all the workingmen in the world's most civilized continent, Europe, were slaves. In America, every workingman can, if he will, become a nobleman, baron, and count.[9]

The homestead law was the star of hope that guided the immigrants across the waters and sustained their spirits during the days of toil that fell to their lot. They saw everything in the light of a future in which their "own farm" plus a bank account was the ultimate goal. This feeling of independence and self-confidence was heightened by the vast distances of the Middle West, its large farms, billowing prairies, and cities springing up like magic. In contrast with the small-scale agriculture and tiny hamlets of his native parish, the immigrant felt that he was a part of something great, rich, and mighty, the possibilities of which were just beginning to be exploited. Work was in the American atmosphere, and after a period of meekness the Swede became self-confident and not infrequently haughty, especially in the presence of a bespectacled visitor from Sweden, who had come to "look him over."[10] He was no longer "Jöns," "Lars," or "Per"; he was "Mr. Johnson," and his daughter was not "Anna Jönsdotter" but "Miss Johnson."

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[8] Correspondence from California by N. J. Andersson, in *Aftonbladet,* March 30, 1853; correspondence from Mauritz Rubenson to *Göteborgs Handels- och Sjöfarts-Tidning,* quoted in *Svenska Amerikanaren,* January 15, 1868.

[9] Olof Olsson, in *Skolwännen,* October 31, 1887.

At home the Swedes were not a saving people. They were beset by the desire to live beyond their means. Even the Smålänning, who eked out a living from the stoniest and most sterile soil in the kingdom and dressed simply in homespun, was a victim of the proverbial Swedish jealousy, which took the form of competition with his neighbors in setting a sumptuous table at weddings and funerals and on other occasions when display was demanded. All too many lived extravagantly. They wanted to "get rich," but long before they could afford to they lived like the rich. They not only failed to save but they borrowed.[11] In America the Swede had his way to make, however, and his first years were a schooling that strengthened his character and inculcated habits of thrift and industry. His best qualities were brought out. The immigrant could not be a chooser. He may have resented the brusqueness and the business-like attitude of Americans and of Swedish-Americans already on the ground, but he would not admit defeat, nor could he afford to do so. In the words of one immigrant, "In Sweden it was a day's work to chop one cord of wood; but in America if a man can't chop two, he can't pay his board."[12] Or as Peter Waldenström put it, "In America a building is erected while a Swede is taking a pinch of snuff."

The desire for knowledge is strong in the Swedish nature, and it is receptive to new ideas. The Swede has a predilection for things foreign. In America he was easily led because he had great respect and admiration for the country and its people.

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[10] A rather overdrawn contrast between the fatalistic, conservative *bonde* in Sweden and the progressive, enterprising, and optimistic Swedish-American farmer is found in Norden, *En brygga öfver hafvet,* 64–66.

[11] Esaias Tegnér, *Wexiö dom-kapitlets underdåniga betänkande till kongl. maj:t, rörande fattigwården i Wexiö stift,* Jönköping, 1833, pp. 55–56. The *Femårsberättelse* for the various *län* contain many references.

[12] Carl Sundbeck, in *Göteborgs Aftonblad,* May 16, 1903; Gustaf G., in *Amerikanska Posten,* Stockholm, September 23, 1893; Felix Vivo (V. Berger), "Rika morbror," *Prärieblomman,* 1908, pp. 87–94. The "America letters" frequently make mention of the hard work and "go-ahead" spirit of Americans.

Consequently his conception of a good living underwent modification in the adopted country. He took root, and when his family increased proportionately with his farm and his bank account, he lost the desire to return to Sweden that he had probably harbored when he was leading a " dog's life." The Swedish-Americans, collectively and individually, had traits, customs, and peculiarities that set them off from other communities and individuals, but they were remarkably adaptable.

Simultaneously with the appearance in the newspapers in the forties and fifties of advertisements of American sailing vessels, galoshes, umbrellas, and American dentistry came changes in dress and mode of living. These, of course, were due to railways, better postal service, machine manufacture, inventions, free trade, and popular education. Although in general the rural inhabitants dressed in homespun, ready-made clothing was on the market and country lasses and lads showed a disposition to copy the dress of city dwellers. Costumes peculiar to the *län* or province were falling into disfavor. When emigrants returned to their native parishes displaying gold rings, watches, and watch chains — and even gold in their teeth — the awe-struck people not only had visible evidence of the riches of the " saga land " in the West but also learned how rich people dressed. In every community of Swedish pioneers, however, the attendant at church might see the women segregated on one side of the aisle, wearing a headdress of silk or cotton cloth and a woolen polka-dot shawl. In 1870 a reporter for a St. Paul paper observed several immigrants on the street wearing the picturesque costume of Dalarna. The Americans called them the " Scandinavian Indians." In the first years of the settlement at Cambridge, Minnesota, the folk dress of Dalarna was not an unusual sight, and mothers carried children on their backs in leather bags, which they hung in trees outside the church. But this custom was highly exceptional.[13]

[13] *Femårsberättelse; Minnesota Tidning,* July 7, 1870; Alfred Bergin, "I Amerikas Dalarne eller svenskarne i och omkring Cambridge, Minn.," *Prärieblomman,* 1903, pp. 125–126. The people of Dalarna have continued to wear their provincial costume longer than have natives of the other provinces, but today tourists are disappointed in seeing so few who continue the old custom. There are probably many more Ford automobiles in Dalarna than knee breeches.

In Sweden the parish church was the common meeting place, the community center. Here friends would meet, learn the gossip of the parish, and hear official documents and other secular announcements read from the pulpit. The churchyard assumed the appearance of a market. Nothing of this kind was ever seen in Swedish-American communities, although the rural church was in a real sense a community center. In some congregations the young men denied themselves the privilege of hearing a sermon of from one to two hours' duration and remained out in the open to enjoy their tobacco and pocketknives. Although America did not emancipate every Swede from the bondage to alcohol, it was decidedly not good form in a church-going community to drink to excess. The terrible oaths that called forth several thousand devils were much less frequent than in Sweden, where profanity was regarded as a national characteristic.[14] The Swede quickly learned that it was not good form to display a whiskey bottle in public or to use profanity in the presence of ladies.

The emigrant had a taste for coffee before he purchased his steamship ticket. In the forties and fifties the consumption of sugar and coffee almost doubled. So excessive was the indulgence in this beverage that coffee temperance societies were organized. Coffee was drunk in the poorest homes and small beer in all but the very poorest. Servants demanded coffee as their daily ration. It was served not only at regular meals but several times a day and always to callers. This custom was continued in Swedish-American homes, and the farm hands at eleven o'clock in the forenoon scanned the horizon for sight of the housewife or her daughter carrying a steaming coffeepot, with toast (*skorpor*) and fancy pastries to make the interruption of work even more welcome. Coffee was given to children as freely as milk was given to American children.[15] Perhaps the popularity of coffee among the Swedes in both countries is due partly to its excellent quality and to the cream and pastry that invariably accompany it. Their skill in preparing these delicacies may help to explain the demand for

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[14] *Femårsberättelse,* Kronobergs *län,* 1871–1875, p. 6.

[15] The *Femårsberättelse* for the several *län* comment on the excessive consumption of coffee. *Norrlands-Posten,* October 3, 1867, notes the organization of coffee temperance societies.

Swedish housemaids. Finally, coffee socials have certainly enriched the treasuries of church organizations and have sustained foreign missionaries for many days and months in the aggregate.

Travelers noted the cleanliness and neatness of the Swedish peasant homes and the high standard of living as compared with those of certain other national groups. There was no difference in standard of living between the Swedish immigrants and the Americans; if anything, the Swedish housewife set a better table. She had learned to economize in the old country, where it was considered sinful to waste even a crust of bread. The German farmer equaled, if he did not excel, the Swedish farmer in economy, thrift, and attachment to the soil, but he had pinch-penny habits that did not characterize the Swede. The Swede worked and saved to own a farm, to improve it with a good residence, good fences, barns, and tiling, just as did the German. In the city the Swedish artisan was industrious, efficient, loyal to his employer; he avoided the slums and saved to pay for his home, which he furnished in true American style. With few exceptions the books in the immigrant home were English, and the pictures that adorned the walls were those of American artists. A number of homes contained pictures of Gustavus Adolphus, Hasselquist, Olsson, and Noah's ark, and a few displayed the Swedish flag. But there was little evidence that the head of the household had at one time owed allegiance to Charles XV or Oscar II. In industrial centers the boarding houses that sheltered some of the Swedish immigrants were far from attractive and comfortable; but surveys have shown that among the Swedes there was the least overcrowding of rooms and of sleeping quarters. With respect to home ownership, financial income, sanitation, and other indications of physical comfort and well-being, the Swedish immigrants rate among the highest, and sometimes they rank highest.[16] Their children were sent to school instead of to work in factories at an early age. Large families were the rule, but they were well fed, clothed, and housed. The pioneer cabin or small house was replaced in time with a large house, having the modern improvements of that time. The plain, unattractive, and often crude church was torn down or moved to make way for a more pretentious edifice, and the money to pay for it was raised without great difficulty.

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[16] J. W. Jenks and W. J. Lauck, *The Immigration Problem,* New York, 1917, pp. 131–138.

The great mass of emigrants left Sweden at a time when national feeling was at its lowest ebb. It has been said that the Swedes are strong as individuals but weak as a people. It is true that they are inordinately fond of things foreign and that they undervalue their own institutions. This characteristic sometimes takes the form of a self-deprecation that is displeasing to Americans. Another unprepossessing quality, which has hampered the Swedes both in Sweden and in the United States, is their strong strain of jealousy. It has been said that a Swede is willing to promote a Swedish cause provided that no credit or glory redounds to an individual. Perhaps it is possible to overemphasize this peculiarity, yet it is something that is taken into account by leaders, whether ecclesiastics or politicians. But in spite of this jealousy there has been a certain solidarity among the Swedes in America. In certain cities business and residential streets have been almost exclusively Swedish. In Brooklyn, though not in New York, the Swedes have been so concentrated as to make Atlantic Avenue almost a Swedish street, lined with Swedish churches, stores, and saloons. Although "America letters" and emigrant guides frequently advised settlement in purely American communities and severance of all connection with things Swedish, the immigrants who lived among their own countrymen usually developed into more wholesome personalities than did those who tried to efface their origin completely. The Swede showed a certain shyness or embarrassment in intercourse with people not of his own nationality. He was an entirely different person when he was in his element, friendly, talkative, and jovial. This was particularly true of the immigrant who came after he had reached manhood, though the discipline and training in the Swedish-American home often had the same effect upon the native-born son or daughter.

It was natural for the earlier immigrants who settled on farms to gravitate to Swedish communities where relatives and friends had preceded them. Hence it came about that many settlements were characterized by a preponderance of settlers from a certain region in Sweden. In the same community it might happen that the Smålännings would populate one area or "route," the Skånings another, the Hallännings another, and so forth. On the whole, however, "sectionalism" did not seriously interfere with the community spirit or with the progress of the congregation. Aspersions might be cast on an individual as possessing certain traits characteristic of his native province, but the dialects caused few misunderstandings, because very soon everybody spoke a ludicrous combination of English and Swedish that neither an American nor a recent arrival from Sweden could understand. The earliest settlements did not reproduce the quarreling and fighting that commonly took place at gatherings in Sweden at the time. Honesty and obedience to law and order were the rule, though there were exceptions, notably in Chicago. The people took pride in being good Americans, and their pride in Swedish citizenship vanished like the rainbow. The most recent immigrants talked of returning to Sweden within a year or two; but homesickness soon wore off, although some women admitted that for a year or more they had wept every day.[17]

On the whole, the Swedish-Americans had a good time.[18] They did not settle in hamlets (*byar*), as in Sweden, but they were compact enough to enjoy their associations with neighbors and to meet on various occasions at church. Unlike the Swedish parish churches, the Swedish-American churches were in fact "meetinghouses," and the phrase "go to meeting" soon became current. Sunday morning was the only time the peasant in Sweden saw the inside of the parish church; but in America the congregation was a social unit, and people who seldom attended services and who held aloof from church membership made use of the church for purposes of social intercourse. Church societies and dinners helped to produce a family feeling. There was a certain stiffness about these gatherings, it is true, as in all social affairs among Swedish-

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[17] Skarstedt, *Vagabond och redaktör,* 326–327.

[18] Travelers from Sweden frequently comment on the drab social life of the immigrants, but this impression may be due to their having forgotten the pietistic views of their former countrymen.

Americans, and the programs were more or less stereotyped. There were devotions, music, declamations, a speech by the pastor, and perhaps by the neighboring pastor also, for the Swedes must have long programs. The pastor, moreover, could be depended upon to prolong the event still further by profusely "thanking" each performer, once at the conclusion of his part and later at the conclusion of the whole program. If there were an imported speaker, the pastor felt it his prerogative to furnish glosses and comments as protracted as the address of the former.

Christmas was the greatest season of all. In the country it lasted twenty days, as in Sweden. In fact, it was a Swedish festival transferred to America. For weeks the busy housewife had made preparations. Then, if ever, the home should be spotless. On Christmas Eve the presents were distributed, and Santa Claus was as familiar to the Swedish child as to his American cousin. The family retired early, for matins (*julotta*) began at four o'clock on Christmas morning in the early years, although more recently the time has been advanced to five or more often to six o'clock. Everybody in the community, religious or irreligious, attended this service. The church was crowded to suffocation. To have missed *julotta* would have spoiled the entire season for many persons. Some came because it was a custom, and did not appear at church again until the next Christmas. Invariably J. O. Wallin's beautiful Christmas hymn, "Var hälsad, sköna morgonstund," was sung at the opening of the service.[19] The Swede of the older generation who did not know this hymn by heart was a rare exception. At the conclusion of the sermon one of the deacons or trustees arose and nervously announced that an "offering" of appreciation for the pastor would be taken, and the congregation crowded, elbowed, and jostled through the aisles to lay the gifts on the altar. After the service the pastor hastened to the parsonage to inform his wife "how much he got." Later in the forenoon another service was held, followed by another the next day (*Annandag jul*), and still another on the thirteenth day of the season (*Trettondedag jul*). In many country congregations the children's festival was held in the evening of this last day. Santa Claus never appeared in person on this occasion, it being thought unseemly to allow this portly personage to intrude at a sacred program. Frequently a lad with a loud voice "spoke a piece" reciting the reasons why he was not welcome at church.

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[19] In more recent years attendance at Christmas matins has fallen off because the children are not interested in Swedish customs. Some congregations have substituted a midnight service. At the English service a translation of Wallin's hymn is always sung, but the older people find it a poor substitute.

The Christmas season was one continuous round of feasting. Families numerous enough to fill two or three long tables were assembled at each party (*kalas*). One invitation called for another in return, and for an honest effort on the part of the housewife to equal the number of courses. The women gossiped and the men smoked and perhaps recalled similar affairs they had attended in Småland or in Skåne. If the pastor were present, he would be asked to read from a book of sermons, and if he were absent the duty would fall upon a deacon. Certain dishes were always in order during the season, including *lutfisk, ostkaka,* and a species of blood pudding. Lingon also were in evidence if these were available.

One custom still continues in Sweden that was not perpetuated by the immigrants except in the rarest of instances, namely, that of giving a sumptuous dinner in honor of the departed one after a funeral. This occasion was just as festive as a wedding, because it was considered quite as necessary to honor the dead as the living.[20] In America the pastors frowned upon the custom, but they were almost never called upon to cope with it, as the immigrants apparently sensed its incongruity.

Many boys and girls raised in Swedish-American communities regretted that fate had endowed their parents with a bilingual speech when, shortly after the close of the public schools for the summer, the "student" from Augustana or Gustavus Adolphus arrived on the scene to conduct parochial school. In smaller congregations the pastor himself essayed the rôle of schoolmaster. "Swede school," as it was generally called, was usually conducted in the basement of the church or in a schoolhouse, and sometimes in the church itself. The curriculum included the Catechism, Bible history, and reading. In theory it was a school of religion, but in reality it was maintained to teach Swedish; the distinction was a slight one, however, since Sunday school and religious services were conducted in the Swedish language. Many children as a result of this practice grew up with the idea that the Swedish language and salvation were one and inseparable. The devil himself could hardly have devised a better instrument than the Catechism for turning youth against the church and inspiring hatred for the Swedish language. This document was learned by rote without any attempt to comprehend it — although, indeed, it is doubtful if immature minds could have comprehended it under any circumstances. To add insult to injury, many mothers said to their mischievous boys: "If you don't behave, you'll have to sit down and study the Catechism!" Sometimes the threat was carried out when the neighbors' boys were spinning tops or coasting. Small wonder that the little boy lamented that "Jesus was a Swede."

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[20] Johnsson, *Allmogeliv i Göinge,* 125.

The "Swede schools" originated in the idea that the "godless public schools" deprived the children of religious instruction. The folk schools in Sweden gave instruction in the fundamentals of Christianity and used the Catechism as a text, and the Sunday school was not introduced widely until recent years, and in many parishes it has never been instituted. As early as 1854 Norelius taught school in the Immanuel congregation in Chicago in a room above a stable, in which a long table, two long benches, and a stove constituted the furniture. Some of the students were over fifty years of age. This was more nearly a "parochial school," however, in that English, United States history, and geography were taught.[21] When it became plain, as it did very soon, that the children would learn English without any effort on the part of the church, the school became an agency for the preservation of the Swedish language. Some pastors favored having a session of nine months in competition with the public schools, but the congregations usually voted it down flat.[22]

In general the Swedish immigrants had no fear of the public schools. Indeed, these were looked upon as one of the great advantages America offered. Only the brief summer session met the needs of those who were interested in Swedish and religious education. Many parents outside the membership of the congregation sent their children primarily for instruction in Swedish. In 1890 the Augustana Synod placed itself officially on record with reference to the public schools. Recognizing the duty of parents to provide their children with an education, it affirmed the right of the church to provide parochial schools for children whose education was neglected; but no support from the state should be asked and parents should support the state schools so long as they were maintained in harmony with Christian views. If the church should neglect its duty or, contrary to the spirit of Christianity, abuse its right, it was the duty of the state to compel parents to send children to the state schools. The state had no right to place parochial schools under the arbitrary control of political school boards, because such schools were not merely institutions of learning, but also to a certain extent places of worship. Neither did the state have the right to legislate with reference to language or textbooks. The synod further denounced all legislation prohibiting the reading of the Bible in schools, but maintained that nothing sectarian should be taught. It was recognized that the state had the right to demand the teaching of certain branches of knowledge, including the English language, that were necessary for the proper discharge of the duties of citizenship.[23]

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[21] Norelius, "Hågkomster från året 1854," *Korsbaneret*, 1888, pp. 109–110.

[22] P. Sjöblom to Wieselgren, January 22, 1867; S. M. Hill, in *Augustana*, April 10, 1890.

These resolutions represent a pious wish rather than a program. Augustana pastors have had much to say about the "godless public schools," but they have been unable to remedy the situation. The laymen accepted the public school system without complaint and were unwilling to appropriate the necessary funds to maintain parochial schools. Indeed, it would have been impossible for the synod, with its small and scattered membership, to build up and support a school system. Most of the congregations were too small. Church basements and the church itself were unsuitable places in which to conduct classes, and discipline was loose in many cases. The students who served as teachers regarded their assignment as a means of livelihood, and many of them were not properly trained. "Swede schools" declined in number and in enrollment and were finally metamorphosed into brief summer schools of religion conducted in the English language. In 1926 the president of the synod reported that 314 schools had been conducted in the previous year.[24]

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[23] *Augustana,* July 10, 1890. These resolutions were adopted at the time of the Bennett Law agitation in Wisconsin and the campaign of the "A. P. A." against parochial schools. See *Augustana,* April 3, 1890; Norelius was editor at this time.

The principal agencies of instruction in the Augustana Synod have been the Sunday schools and the confirmation classes. Sunday schools patterned after those of the "reformed" American churches were introduced before the Civil War. Although the Catechism and Bible history were taught, the schools diverged widely from the original Lutheran idea of religious instruction. Until the close of the last century, the medium was largely — sometimes exclusively — the Swedish language, although English songs were sung on occasion, greatly to the delight of the children, and English "pieces" were spoken at programs. In 1921 a synodical Sunday school secretary was elected and given instructions to work out a system of graded English textbooks. These books, which were based on the Swedish Catechism, did not prove satisfactory, as the secretary himself, George A. Fahlund, admitted. He favored departing from the Catechism, but the conservative element opposed him and brought about his resignation in 1930.

The synod has continued confirmation, but it does not have the same status as in Sweden, where it was the apex of a course of instruction in religion extending over a period of years. In the Augustana Synod it was a "school" in itself, in which the instruction was of necessity superficial. As late as 1900 instruction was almost entirely in Swedish, although pastors who were competent to do so made certain explanations in English for the benefit of the few catechumens who had difficulty in understanding Swedish. In the next stage both English and Swedish classes were organized, and today Swedish classes are rare. In three strongly Swedish Minnesota communities, the proportion of English and Swedish confirmands in 1921 was as follows: Center City, twenty-four Swedish, twelve English; Taylor's Falls, eight Swedish, six English; Chisago City, sixteen Swedish, seven English. In the latter congregation there were no English confirmands before 1917.[25] Of course, the language policy of a congregation depended in no small degree upon the attitude of the pastor; some encouraged the use of English, and others very reluctantly yielded to the demands of the younger element.

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[24] "Calls" to students to teach summer school have become much less frequent since the World War. Women teachers from the public schools or students from the Lutheran Bible Institute are preferred.

A chapter on community life in Swedish-America would not be complete without reserving a place of honor for the women. The Swedish-American women became Americanized more quickly and thoroughly than the men. The men became more companionable, democratic, and chivalrous than they had been in Sweden, but there remained a certain stiffness about them. The women absorbed the American manners and point of view more readily. The position of the American woman grated on the average immigrant during the first months, as it did on visitors from Sweden; but if he wished to retain the respect of his neighbors, he assumed the American attitude toward his wife. The women showed a tendency to marry outside the Swedish nationality. Was it because they knew the American husband shined his own shoes or hired it done and pushed the baby carriage, or was it because they acquired a name that cleared them of any suspicion that they were born across the water?

In the Old Country married as well as unmarried women bore titles indicating their social status. In the "Land of Canaan" they were all designated simply as "Mrs." or "Miss." In Sweden the maid slept in the kitchen, shined shoes, and worked long hours; in America she had her own room, regular times for meals, and limited working hours. In the "America letters" the writers commented on the similarity of dress between mistress and maid and on the fact that the duties of the latter were confined to indoor work in the country as well as in the city. In fact the work done by women, whatever their social positions, was lighter than in Sweden, where much of their work was of a kind more suitable to men, judged by the American standard. In 1867 a Swedish visitor to Center

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[25] Helge Nelson, in *Allsvensk Samling,* February 15, 1922.

City, Minnesota, observed that the women had become so far Americanized that they had forsaken the hoe for housework. Their carriage was smarter, there was no pocket in their dresses, and they carried pocketbooks in their hands.

If the men approved of the American principle of equality in speech and dress, the women appreciated it even more. The heavy, clumsy shoes worn in Sweden gave way in America to an attire more in keeping with feminine tastes and occupations. In Sweden elderly ladies went to church carrying prayer books wrapped in white handkerchiefs, and this was also a common sight in older Swedish-American communities; but the custom was discontinued by the younger generation. To many a Swedish housemaid America represented the opportunity to have better, more attractive clothes. She thought of Sweden in terms of her calico dress and of America in terms of a silk dress that she expected to buy shortly. Is it any wonder, then, that she protested within a few weeks that she was unable to speak Swedish and that after a few months perhaps she denied that she could understand it?

The sterling qualities of American pioneer women have been celebrated in story and song, and it is well to remember that their Swedish sisters also made homes in the log cabins of Minnesota and in the sod houses of Nebraska, brought up large families, plied their needles, made the spinning wheels hum, tended the looms, watered and fed the live stock, and cultivated the fields while their husbands were away for weeks working in railway construction gangs in order to tide the family over until the returns from the crops came in. The economy, motherliness, efficiency, and culinary skill of the Swedish-American women, their love for their homes, respect for their husbands, and self-sacrificing devotion, constitute an epic theme in themselves. Women also carried much of the burden of the church in the form of contributions and personal work. Many city congregations owed not a little of their progress to housemaids. Recognizing their obligation and responsibility to this type of immigrant, city congregations on Sunday evenings provided a substitute for a home and recreation in the form of lunches and refreshments in the social rooms of the church.

The churches outside the Augustana Synod seem to have harbored most of the women writers. Among Swedish women of talent outside the synod we find such names as Lena Sahlström, Mathilda Roos, Kate Lundin, Josephine Princell, Anna S. Swanson, Ellen Modin, Ida Young, Anna Lindgren, Ida Lönnbäck, Ida Granquist, Anna H. Preinitz, Charlotte Anderson, Anna Johanson, Sigrid Kurck, Ingeborg Bahr, and Selma Larson. Among the Augustana women Anna Olsson (Aina) is perhaps the best known.[26]

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[26] There is a large body of short stories and other fiction, mainly in Swedish, portraying life among the Swedish-Americans. Of these, undoubtedly the best is Malm, *Charli Johnson.* It not only gives an intimate and sympathetic picture, but it reproduces accurately the speech of the immigrants — that ludicrous combination of English and peasant Swedish. Anna Olsson has a keen sense of humor, a fundamental understanding of human nature, and a mastery of the so-called "Swedish-American language." Her best contributions are *Från solsidan, Bilder från jubelfesten, En prärieunges funderingar,* and *I'm Scairt.* P. H. Pearson, *Prairie Vikings,* is a series of sketches of pioneer life in Kansas. V. Berger (Felix Vivo) has written the following: *Rätt och slätt, Emigrant-öden, Hundår och lyckodagar, Ungdomskärlek, Pytt i panna,* and "Ett par minnen från hundåren," in *Prärieblomman,* 1910, pp. 100–106. An interesting sketch is given E. Norelius, "Nybyggarelif," *Prärieblomman,* 1903, pp. 158–167. Carl W. Andeer attempts to portray the life and activity of Augustana Synod people in two volumes entitled *Augustana folk.* Very humorous is *Jan Olsons äfventyr, eller en värmländsk emigrants resor och lefnadsöden i det Norra Amerika,* Chicago, 1892. It ran serially in *Hemlandet* and *Svenska Tribunen.* Caustic and sometimes keen observations about the Swedish-Americans are found in Johan Benzendal, *Amerikanska brev,* Uppsala, 1925. Hilma Angered Strandberg's *På prärien* has already been cited. It is sharp and bitter. There is nothing pertaining to the Swedish immigrants comparable to O. E. Rölvaag's study of the Norwegians, *Giants in the Earth,* though Ramsey Benson's *Hill Country* is an attempt at a similar treatment. It ran serially in the *Forum,* beginning in January, 1928. *Ungdomsvännen* has a number of conversations with pioneers and reminiscences of early days by pastors and others. *Korsbaneret* contains biographical sketches in the form of obituaries of pastors and laymen, but many are eulogistic and inaccurate. Much valuable information and color may be culled from "America letters."

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE PROCESS OF AMERICANIZATION

THE SWEDISH immigrant who came to the United States in 1925 found a Swedish-America as foreign to him as Sweden was to the immigrant of 1870 who returned to his native land in 1910. At the beginning of the present century many persons were of the opinion that Swedish would continue to be a living language in the United States for many generations. The heavy immigration in the eighties and from 1900 to 1904 was partly responsible for this belief, though sober reflection ought to have revealed that a language artificially preserved, lacking the nourishment received through direct contact with its roots in the national spirit and culture, is a barren tree. The Swedish-Americans of today and their children are far away from the Sweden of the present generation and know nothing of its history, religion, institutions, and culture. The Sweden that they know in imagination is the Sweden of 1860 to 1880.

As we have observed, the nineteenth-century immigrants received their schooling when national feeling was at low ebb and before the forces that revolutionized the entire social, economic, religious, and political structure in Sweden were understood. It is a curious fact that the children of a country with an honorable history and a high standing among the nations of the world should take little pride in their heritage and consider it an honor to be mistaken for Englishmen or Scotchmen. It is amusing, to say the least, to find men whose "speech betrayeth" them anxious to disclaim their origin and to pretend that they have forgotten their native tongue. It is true that the vast bulk of the immigrants came from the humble classes and that their nationality in the United States has often been associated with housemaids, janitors, and other persons of somewhat subordinate status; yet persons of higher social rank have shared with the former group its Swedish heritage. Even today one hears in Sweden comments to the effect that "English is such a beautiful language"—and this in a country whose language is one of the most musical in the world. It is true that no American affects a Swedish accent, but no more favor is shown to the Germans and the Irish. It is also true that in the nineties certain stage performances were in vogue in which such ludicrous Swedish-American characters as "Ole Olson," "Yon Yonson," "A Yenuine Yentleman," and "Hans Hanson" were presented; but the Irish, Germans, Jews, and Italians have fared no better. Some of the sharpest things said about the Swedish language in the United States have been said by the Swedes themselves. The Swedish immigrant never expected that the Swedish language would play an important rôle nor that his fellow countrymen would exercise any controlling influence in America. At no time did the radicals among the immigrants take an interest in their countrymen from the cultural standpoint. They advised them to become Americanized at once, probably because things Swedish in the new country were associated with a conservative and, from their point of view, intolerant church. It may be said, however, that the conservatives sometimes went to the other extreme in clinging to the old and the familiar.

The churchly immigrants did not feel discriminated against or oppressed by laws such as those regulating the sale of liquor and observance of the Sabbath. In latter years there has been some complaint from the radical and liberal elements, but as a rule the Swedish immigrants have had ample room to stretch and an abundance of air to breathe. Neither did they come from a country under oppression, in whose behalf it was thought necessary to enlist the offices of the government of the United States. There were no secret organizations among Swedish-Americans to foment revolutions across the water, and socialist papers died in infancy. Given a year or two in the United States, the Swedish immigrant, irrespective of his politics in the old country, became an adherent of the Republican party.

Coming as they did from the humbler classes, the immigrants brought with them no cultural interests. Bookstores in

Swedish centers like Chicago, Minneapolis, and St. Paul carried few, if any, Swedish books in stock. In secondhand stores one might see displayed on bargain tables Swedish translations of the *James Brothers, Uncle Tom's Cabin,* or the *Life of William McKinley,* and paper-bound volumes of about the caliber of Frank Merriwell's exploits or Ezra Kendall's jokes. The minority who had even heard of such names as Almquist, Blanche, Bremer, Knorring, Engström, Rydberg, Strindberg, Lagerlöf, and Böök was too small to justify booksellers in placing their masterpieces on the shelves. Publishers in Sweden know that modern Swedish writers lack appeal both to Americans and to Swedish-Americans because they are too heavy and pessimistic.

Swedish literature produced in the United States consists chiefly of devotional writings and short stories. The bulk of books and articles pertaining to the history of the Swedes in the United States is large, but much source material has perished because of the lack of historical consciousness among them. As early as 1888, the Swedish-American Historical Society was organized at Chicago, but it seems to have been stillborn, for no meetings were held and no publications sponsored. In 1905 the Swedish Historical Society of America was organized, also in Chicago, but it has led a precarious existence. It has published yearbooks irregularly, and at present publishes quarterly the *Swedish-American Historical Bulletin.*[1] A building known as the John Morton Memorial Building was erected in Philadelphia after the World War for the purpose of housing a museum and library of material pertaining to Swedish history and Swedish culture. An effort has been made to enlist supporters in an organization known as the American Sons and Daughters of Sweden. Considerable money has been raised, but by no means can it be said that the response has been enthusiastic, although interest may be kindled before the celebration in 1938 of the tercentennial of the Swedish settlements on the Delaware. A recent development is the donation by Swan J. Turnblad of Minneapolis in 1929 of a fine building and his entire fortune to establish the American Institute of Swedish Art, Literature, and Science. But these activities belong to the future rather than to the past.

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[1] C. R. Chindblom, "A Swedish-American Historical Society," *Alumnus,* March, 1893; G. N. Swan, " Svenska Historiska Sällskapet i Amerika," *Ungdomsvännen,* May, 1916; Conrad Peterson, "Twenty-five Years of the Swedish Historical Society of America," *Swedish-American Historical Bulletin,* March, 1930. The collection and headquarters of the society were transferred to the Minnesota Historical Society in St. Paul in 1920.

It requires a stretch of the imagination to say that there is a Swedish-American literature. It is true that Swedish-American writers have produced many pages in their native tongue and that their writings, which are characterized by a peculiar humor, are neither Swedish nor American. But they are hardly "literature." The name of Ernst Skarstedt is perhaps the most distinguished among the writers. It is significant that many of the literary efforts have been published at the author's own expense.[2] *Valkyrian,* a monthly published in New York from 1897 to 1910, is perhaps the best example of a popular magazine in Swedish. *Ungdomsvännen,* which was published at Rock Island until it fell victim to the war in 1918 after having suffered from a decline in its subscription list for some time,[3] was a creditable publication. It published advertisements and reviews of current Swedish literature. The annual *Prärieblomman* was discontinued in 1913.

The Swedish newspapers published in the United States have done little to promote a sympathetic understanding of Sweden or an appreciation of the best in its culture. The immigrants have been almost wholly dependent upon these papers for news from Sweden, for the papers published in Sweden have been few and, before the Civil War at least, very expensive. The Stockholm *Aftonbladet* cost about fifty-six dollars a year in Chicago.[4] The Swedish-American papers published columns of clippings from Sweden classified under the different provinces. This use of scissors and paste gave a distorted idea of the country, presenting a chronicle of accidents, crimes, and scandals. To judge by the Swedish-

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[2] Ernst Skarstedt, *Svensk-amerikanska poeter i ord och bild,* Minneapolis, 1890, and *Våra pennfäktare,* San Francisco, 1897; Jakob Bonggren, "Svensk-amerikansk litteratur," *Prärieblomman,* 1902, pp. 67–76; Oliver A. Linder, "Ernst Skarstedt," *Valkyrian,* 1897, pp. 12–16; V. Berger, "Kulturströmningar i Svensk-Amerika," *Ungdomsvännen,* June, 1916. G. N. Swan is the author of a series of valuable sketches and bibliographical aids under the title "Svensk-amerikanska författare," *Ungdomsvännen,* 1904–1909.

[3] *Ungdomsvännen,* November-December, 1918, p. 268.

[4] J. A. Enander, "En Svensk-amerikansk tidnings 50-års jubileum," *Prärieblomman,* 1906, pp. 235–236.

American press, as one Swedish-American said, "half of Sweden has drowned or gone crazy."[5] These papers had almost no subscribers in Sweden and recruited their American readers from among those who read English imperfectly or not at all; there was, therefore, no incentive to cater to anybody except advertisers, Swedish-Americans, and Republican politicians, who could grant favors of one kind or another.

It may appear strange that, serving a circle of readers limited almost exclusively to farmers and working people, these editors and publishers ignored their problems; but this indifference may be explained by the fact that Swedes who emigrated usually were embittered by the social injustice in Sweden and found America by contrast a utopia. The cruising range of editors and writers was limited, because most of them could not write English and were in consequence at the mercy of publishers. One looks in vain in the columns of Swedish papers for criticisms of the United States, such as appeared in the German and Irish press. In fact, the tone was directly opposed to criticism. For example, Carl F. Peterson, the ablest in the profession, who as editorial writer on *Svenska Tribunen* from 1878 to 1884 received the highest salary that had ever been paid up to that time, condemned racial and national solidarity and the desire to obtain special favors as conducive to dissension in a country with a composite population. He censured the Germans for trying to have German taught in the public schools and stated that the difficulty of the Germans in maintaining their language and solidarity proved that it would be impossible for the Swedes, with their weaker national spirit, to maintain their identity.[6]

Peterson is hardly representative of Swedish-American editors, many of whom preached solidarity in season and out, but it is certainly true that in contrast with the immigrant

[5] Quoted by A. G. Witting, "Svensk-Amerika och Sverige," *Sydsvenska Dagbladet Snällposten,* June 10, 1910. A scathing indictment of the Swedish-American press by one of the editors, Nils F: son Brown, is "The Swedes among Us," *American Mercury,* May, 1926.

[6] *Svenska Tribunen,* November 13, 1878, February 26, 1879; O. A. Linder, "Carl Fredrik Peterson," *Valkyrian,* July, 1901; C. G. Norman, "Något om svensk-amerikanska pressen och svensk-amerikanarna," *Svensk-amerikanska kalendern,* Worcester, 1912, pp. 65–68; Berger, *Svenska-amerikanska meditationer,* 79–88.

press as a whole the Swedish editors were mild. Certainly the Swedish-American press was neither American nor Swedish, but it was far more American than Swedish in spirit. The editor of *Augustana,* S. P. A. Lindahl, while admitting that "some of us" were foreigners, insisted that the term "Swedish-American" ought to be laid aside; that citizenship had nothing to do with religion; and that the Lutheran faith was not bound up with the Swedish nationality. "In this country we are Americans and nothing else, regardless of where the cradles of our ancestors may have stood," he wrote.[7]

According to a member of the fraternity, "the world-famous Swedish jealousy has its surest resort in the newspaper world."[8] Although it is gentlemanly now, the Swedish-American press during the last century at least was shot through with polemics of the bitterest kind. In Chicago, where competition was keenest, the controversy raged like a howling tempest, but the other centers were not spared. *Hemlandet* and *Svenska Tribunen* were agreed on only one point besides the virtues of the Republican party, and that was that Carl A. Swensson's aggressive and boyish papers, *Framåt* and *Fosterlandet,* were bad. *Svenska Tribunen* and *Svenska Amerikanaren,* not to mention such earlier papers as Isidor Kjellberg's *Justitia,* were engaged in a ceaseless warfare with the Augustana Synod. C. F. Peterson, a Swedenborgian, who had no great love for Sweden, asserted that he had found more tact, reason, and consideration among the educated preachers in Sweden than among clergymen educated in the United States.[9] In criticizing the "draconian" constitution of the Augustana Synod, which excluded from membership men belonging to fraternal orders, he said that he wondered how the hand of fellowship could be extended to the King of Sweden, who was head of the Church of Sweden and of the Masonic Order at the same time.[10]

War to the hilt was waged in Minnesota between *Skaffaren,* A. P. Montén's paper, and *Minnesota Stats Tidning,* the prop-

[7] *Augustana,* February 24, March 31, 1898.

[8] *Svenska Tribunen,* April 12, 1899.

[9] *Svenska Tribunen,* December 31, 1879.

[10] *Svenska Tribunen,* May 12, 1880.

erty of Hans Mattson and Alfred Söderström, up to the time of their consolidation. The latter paper charged that Montén went among the Swedes to warn them against it as hostile to the Christian religion. Montén admitted the charge and justified his action by citing as proof its praise of the theater and the dance and its failure to take a positive stand against the saloon and other monuments of iniquity.[11] Shots were exchanged between the papers in St. Paul and Chicago. After the merger of *Skaffaren* and *Minnesota Stats Tidning* in 1881 *Svenska Tribunen* claimed that the paper was owned and controlled by the James J. Hill interests. And *Skaffaren,* though it meant indicting a brother in the Lutheran faith, attacked *Hemlandet* for running liquor advertisements, to which allegation Enander replied by asserting that the advertisements referred to communion wine. But *Skaffaren* insisted that there was nothing to indicate the character or quality of the commodity.[12] And so the battle went on.

Attempts were made to publish Swedish dailies, but with the exception of one, which lasted about six months, they died after a few weeks.[13] The same fate befell such humorous periodicals as *Kurre, Lördags-Nisse, Humoristen,* and *Friskytten,* although they survived for a somewhat longer time.

In all about twelve hundred Swedish papers have been established in the United States, about one-fourth of which were in existence in 1910. During and after the World War the mortality rate was high. By 1940 there will be few survivors, if we may judge by the trend of the last decade. Chicago has had more than one hundred papers, and the subscription lists of *Svenska Amerikanaren* and *Svenska Tribunen* are large, one having a circulation of about seventy-five thousand. Swedish papers have been published in twenty-nine states, Illinois and Minnesota leading. If the congregational papers, annuals, and similar publications are excluded, the total is not impressive. Until about 1880 even the largest papers led a precarious existence, and the total number of subscribers at any given time was but a small portion of the Swedish population. The steady increase of English matter in a number of papers, especially since the World War, is an ominous sign to the publishers and an index of the progress of Americanization.[14]

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[11] *Bihang till Skaffaren,* December 12, 1879.

[12] *Minnesota Stats Tidning,* December 1, 1881; *Skaffaren,* January 28, 1880.

[13] This was *Svenska Dagbladet* of St. Paul. See *Framåt,* May 5, 1888.

It is significant that monthlies, calendars, and annuals published by churches, such as *Korsbaneret, Vinterrosor,* and *Skogsblommor,* have outlived similar publications sponsored by individuals and secular publication houses. The fact that the enduring publications are religious and devotional shows that the cultural appeal is not strong. Although the Augustana Synod has been the greatest single factor in the development of the Swedes as a group, it has not been an effective agency for the promotion of Swedish culture. It has been an important force in keeping the Swedish language alive; yet the underlying motive has been not so much a love for things Swedish as a desire to retain and to recruit members. The appeal to the Swedish spirit, therefore, always had an empty sound; and when pastors awakened to the fact that the Swedish language was turning members away, it died to a faint echo. Obviously, the immigrant church could not be a cultural agency, for immigration was one-sided. The stream carried with it only a handful of ordained pastors and a few persons from the educated classes. The church had to build on the foundation that was there. Among a small minority there was an appeal for "cultured pastors," but even if these had been available, they would not have made suitable shepherds for the great flock of humble, uneducated, and pietistic immigrants. Its course was not exactly voluntary, but the Augustana Synod, as it developed, worked out its own salvation with little assistance from Sweden. The pastors sprang from the ranks and were supplied with such education as the synod was able to furnish. It follows that they were religious leaders, not educators.

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[14] With reference to the number of papers and circulation, see *Minnesota Bladet,* January 16, 1869; Ernst Beckman, in *Stockholms Dagblad,* April 18, 1883; Kjellberg, *Föredrag om Amerika,* 31 ff.; Norden, *En brygga öfver hafvet,* 95–96; Gustav Andreen, "Den nuvarande svensk-amerikanska pressen," *Prärieblomman,* 1905, pp. 165–184. For historical sketches, see Bernard Lundstedt, *Svenska tidningar och tidskrifter utgifna inom Nord-Amerikas Förenta Stater,* Stockholm, 1886; Ernst Skarstedt, *Svensk-amerikanska folket i helg och söcken,* Stockholm, 1917, pp. 148–218; Alfred Söderström, *Blixtar på tidnings-horisonten,* Warroad, Minnesota, 1910; *Svensk-amerikanska pressen och svenska journalistförbundet i Amerika,* Rock Island, 1923; Josephine Princell, "Den svenska kristna tidningspressen i Amerika," *Skogsblommor,* 1901, pp. 108–179.

The preservation of the Swedish language and the promotion of interest in Swedish literature and history were not aided by the average pastor, whether in the Augustana Synod or in the other denominations. He had no real understanding of Swedish literature, art, or science, and his strict orthodoxy and hostile attitude toward the theater and the novel shut him and his parishioners from these avenues of culture. Many pastors proclaimed that the only way to preserve Swedish solidarity was to speak the language. "If we are going to maintain our identity," wrote one pastor, "we must above all preserve our language."[15] So long as immigration was constant, the membership of Swedish churches was recruited; but after 1900 the Augustana Synod profited but little, since the immigrants were either persons without interest in religion or Mission Friends, Baptists, and Methodists, whose churches in Sweden were aggressive as compared with the passive state church. This circumstance brought about a peculiar situation. When so-called "reformed" congregations became English, they were absorbed into the American synods and conferences, and it was thus a matter of self-preservation for them to retain the Swedish language, although they rejected that which was most characteristic of Sweden, namely, the liturgy and hymnology. They sang in Swedish the songs of the English-speaking world. Moreover, their church publications devoted more space to leaders in American churches and to things purely American than did those of the Augustana Synod.

It is a curious fact that the children of immigrants who had reason for remembering Sweden as a land of poverty and social discrimination idealized the land they had never seen. Their Sweden was unreal, particularly if they were brought up in pietistic homes. English was to them the language of everyday life, the speech of the playground, school, and market, whereas Swedish was the language of their prayers and other-worldly aspirations. Swedish was the language of salvation. It has been a shock to more than one son of pietistic immigrants to find, on his first visit to the land of his fathers, the people indifferent to church and bent on pleasure, whereas their cousins in America were flocking to worship in the temples erected by the sacrifices of their parents. The visitors found their cousins happy to see them and curious about friends and relatives and about the great country in the West, but indifferent about their church life and about Swedish-America in general. For example, the quadricentennial of Luther's Catechism in 1929 was celebrated with far more enthusiasm by the Augustana Synod than by the Church of Sweden.

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[15] C. A. Lönnquist, "Skall svenskfödd man förlora svenskt mål?" *Ungdomsvännen*, June, 1915.

The American public school fixed a great gulf between parents and children. The teachers took little or no account of the background of the children, who were taught that America was the greatest country in the world. The boy who spoke Swedish on the playground — he was very rare indeed — was immediately singled out, and perhaps the nickname "Swede" was attached to him for life. The schoolboy who attended a Swedish Sunday school was an easy victim to American standardization. The arrival now and then of "greenhorns" from Sweden caused the children to conceal their nationality. There were even cases in which children were ashamed to have Swedish papers come through the mail. The tragic thing about this was that some children regarded their parents as old-fashioned and considered their counsel and advice worthless. In most cases, perhaps, parents were proud of their "American" children and rejoiced in their progress at school; others no doubt accepted the situation with sorrowful resignation. Some parents who had steadfastly opposed the introduction of English services received a rude awakening with the marriage of a daughter or son to an "American" and thereafter advocated "more English" with great ardor.

Some of the greatest tragedies in the annals of Swedish immigration occurred when the men and women who had left their parents behind them when they emigrated sent for them in their old age in order to care for them. The elderly people were unable to adapt themselves to American conditions, and the children were unable to adjust themselves to the ways of the parents. In many families the grandchildren and grandparents were unable even to converse with one another. It may be said that the experiences of Swedish-Americans who returned to Sweden to live were often similar, particularly when their children left them to go to America, as they often did. Augmenting the longing for their children was a feeling of isolation and maladjustment. The Swedish-American longed to see once more the little red cottage, the parish church, and friends and relatives, but the lapse of many years brought more changes than he had foreseen. A new generation had grown up, the homestead was not the same, and even the rocks and hills were not so romantic as pictured in the imagination.

Swedish visitors have arrived at widely different conclusions about Swedish-Americans. One view is that the Swedish-American is a compromise between a Swede and an American; externally he is an American, but his soul remains Swedish.[16] Others, however, have found in them little or no attachment to Sweden or things Swedish. These observers have perhaps been deceived by immigrants who claimed to have forgotten Swedish and who took a superior attitude toward their more "Swedish" countrymen; such a transformation in Swedes who wished to be "Yankees" sometimes required only six weeks. Undoubtedly the average immigrant harbored a secret admiration, not to say envy, for the "real American," and length of residence in the United States was often a measure of social distinction.[17] The weakness of the Swedish national spirit is attested by the fact that through marriage with an English-speaking person the Swede has usually been lost to all Swedish influence. Some persons have detected degrees of resistance to Americanization among the immigrants according to provinces; they have said, for example, that the natives of Västergötland have more than the Smålännings and Värmlännings.[18] This difference may be due to the fact that the former have settled in greater numbers in the East, where immigration is more recent and the population more concentrated, and where the *läsare* tradition has not been so strong. The democracy of the West has made assimilation easier.

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[16] Von Koch, *Emigranternas land,* 321–322.

[17] A. G. Witting, in *Sydsvenska Dagbladet Snällposten,* June 9, 1910; American correspondence to *Hemlandsvännen,* Stockholm, September 29, 1893; C. H——n, "Svenskarne i nya verlden," *Amerikanska Posten,* September 2, 1893; Aron Edström, "Bilder ur det svensk-amerikanska nybyggarelifvet," *Prärieblomman,* 1902, pp. 49–55.

[18] A. M. L. Herenius, in *Allsvensk Samling,* September 15, 1920.

The change in family names is a part of the process of Americanization, but as such it can be overemphasized. A considerable portion of the rural population of Sweden was without family names. Lars Johansson was the son of a man whose name was Johan Karlsson, his father's given name being Karl. So it went from father to son. The very limited number of given names resulted in an unusually large number of Johanssons, Anderssons, Peterssons, Olssons, Karlssons, and Swenssons. In the United States, of course, much confusion resulted in the delivery of mail, in legal transactions, and so forth. The similarity of names led to nicknaming to give distinction to individuals: for instance, John Johnson in the employ of Mr. Green was called " John Green " to distinguish him from another John Johnson; the John Carlson who had gone with the gold rush to California was known as " California Carlson." The portly Albert Swanson was called "Albert Fat Swanson," and the Peter Anderson whose house was set back some distance from the road was designated " Pete in the field," whereas a man by the same name residing in the village was " Pete on the street." John G. Princell, the religious leader, was the son of Magnus Gudmundson, who changed his name to Gummeson in America. Princell took his name from Princeton, Illinois. The Swedish-American newspapers printed many inquiries from relatives in Sweden as to the whereabouts of immigrants, often giving the names by which they had been known in Sweden and explaining that in the adopted country some such name as Brown or Smith had been assumed. Names containing *å, ä,* or *ö* were stumbling blocks for the Americans and for that reason were changed. Åkerberg became Okerberg; Håkanson, Hocanson or Hawkinson; Sjögren, Shogren; Sjöstrand, Seashore; Eklöf, Oakleaf; Fält, Felt; and Esbjörn, Osborn. Other common alterations are Kihlberg to Chilberg; Aldin to Aldine; Brodin to Brodeen; Friman to Freeman; Strid to Streed; Molin to Moline; Sven Svenson to Swan Swanson; and Måns Månson to Mons Monson. Names like Jacobson and Bloomberg have been changed to avoid identification with another racial group. The custom whereby the son took the given name of his father and added " son " was discontinued in America and in almost every case one *s* was dropped, so that Olsson become Olson, and so forth. Christian names have fared little better. Lars became Louis; Håkan, Holcolmb; Carl, Charles; Per, Peter; Johan, John; Nils, Nels; Anders, Andrew. Among the children of the third generation there is no Per, Magnus, Sven, Inga, Stina, Brita, or Hannah. The class records of teachers in Swedish communities are rich in such names as Vergil, Lloyd, Chester, Maynard, La Verne, Gordon, Hubert, Jack, Boyd, Gwendolyn, Ardith, Prudence, Faith, Dorothy, and Phyllis.

In Sweden the movement to discard names ending in " son " has taken on momentum and notices of such changes appear frequently in the newspapers. After the World War a similar movement was inaugurated in the United States and sponsored by the Augustana Committee on Reform of Family Names. Charles L. Esbjorn, a son of Lars P. Esbjörn and professor of German in Augustana College, took the lead in this. According to the literature published by this organization, it was not the object of the committee to prevail upon young people to conceal their Swedish origin, but to induce them to adopt names that were as distinctive as those of other nationalities and that embodied both family and racial history. The names should not be common but should be pleasing to the eye and ear, readily pronounceable, distinctive, and in conformity with the best types of purely Swedish names suitable for use in the United States.

The Americans often expressed astonishment at the ease with which the Swedish immigrants acquired the English language. Many Swedish words are almost identical with English equivalents: the words for ox, cow, swine, cat, rat, mouse, wagon, plow, knife, weave, cork, and sow.[19] Almost immediately after their arrival in America the immigrants changed the name of their native land from " Sverige " to " Sveden " and learned to say " no " and " yes " instead of " nej " and " ja." It was difficult for a newly arrived immigrant to understand the speech of his countryman who had preceded him by but a few months.[20]

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[19] Hans Mattson, *Reminiscences,* St. Paul, 1891, p. 310.

[20] Correspondence of W. Acharius from Red Wing, Minnesota, in *Amerika Bladet,* Örebro, December 28, 1869; report of C. Lewenhaupt, *chargé d'affaires* of Sweden and Norway, in *Hemlandet,* May 30, 1871; letter of C. A——m from Chicago, in *Norrlands-Posten,* May 11, 1870; V. Berger, *Vårt språk,* Rock Island, 1912, pp. 6–8; Ruben G: son Berg, " Svenskan i Amerika," *Språk och Stil,* Stock-

Conversation with Americans and the daily reading of English papers gave them a knowledge of English vocabulary and idiom, though they spoke with a Swedish accent. They took pleasure in displaying their new accomplishment in letters to those at home. In 1869 the postmaster at Kristdala, Sweden, wrote to the editor of *Hemlandet* requesting him to urge the immigrants to address letters to Sweden so that they could be forwarded to the proper parties.

> The majority of emigrants cannot write Swedish, much less English. Notwithstanding, certain emigrants, in order to advertise their proficiency in the new language to their friends and relatives, put a good many English words in their letters; but as these are incorrectly spelled and put together, the letters are unreadable to the recipient. He brings it to the pastor to have him read it. If he cannot, it remains unread.[21]

Very few of the immigrants spoke really pure Swedish; their speech was the dialect of Småland, Skåne, Jämtland, Västergötland, or some other province. Their settlements in America were little Smålands, Skånes, Jämtlands, and Västergötlands. Children spoke the dialect of parents and learned to read in the parochial school. Visitors from Sweden at once recognized the provincial dialect, even from the lips of men who had completed a course of study in a Swedish-American college and theological seminary. It was noticeable that the speech of many American-born children was stilted and bookish. Swedish for them was almost a dead language; it had to be kept alive artificially. Instead of using the conversational forms of the personal pronouns, "mej" and "dej," they said "mig" and "dig." They were so proper that they were improper.

This situation reveals in superlative degree the influence of

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holm, 1904; E. A. Zetterstrand, "Engleskans inflytande på det svenska språket i Amerika," *Ungdomsvännen,* June, July, August, 1904; Norden, *En brygga öfver hafvet,* pp. 49–52; Lydia Hedberg, *Reseminnen från Amerika,* Skövde, 1925, pp. 181–183; Gustav Andreen, "Det svenska språket i Amerika," *Studentföreningen Verdandis småskrifter,* Stockholm, 1900, no. 87, pp. 3–18. M. W. Gustafson of Upsala College is the author of a dissertation presented at the University of the City of New York entitled "The Swedish Language in the United States," and Joseph Alexis of the University of Nebraska is the author of a dissertation presented at the University of Paris entitled "La littérature suédoise d'Amérique." An interesting and amusing chapter on the so-called Swedish-American language is in Skarstedt, *Svenska-amerikanska folket i helg och söcken,* 435–444.

[21] S. M. Körling, in *Hemlandet,* August 24, 1869, translated in the *Yearbook of the Swedish Historical Society of America,* 1922–1923, pp. 150–152.

the printed page and the school on the youth of America, whatever its lineage. If the children attended a public school in an exclusively Swedish community, they spoke Swedish on the playground, and throughout their lives, perhaps, spoke the language of the country with a pronounced accent. Minnesota contains hundreds, probably thousands, of such persons. If, however, the school population was mixed and included a large "American" element, the English of the Swedish children often influenced the English of the "Americans." On the other hand, the Swedish children spoke of "packing water," they did things "this-a-way" and "that-a-way," and they "allowed" and they "claimed." School teachers in Minnesota say that there is nothing distinctive in the speech of Swedish children, except that they "run forth and back" and "go with." Very few of them now say that "it stood in the paper," and what Swedish constructions they do use have been acquired from Sunday school teachers and pastors, who speak of "Mrs. Reverend Johnson" and tell them that they "should believe the Lord for more." It is seldom that the expression "read for the preacher" is heard today. The second generation Swede in the city usually moves from the Swedish section to another residential district, partly because he can afford to live in a more desirable part of the city and partly because he wishes to escape the unpleasantness of admitting that he lives in a district that immediately convicts him of being a Swede.

The majority of the immigrants, as has been stated, were humble folk who brought with them little of the culture of their native land. In the first years of residence in America they were engaged in a ceaseless struggle with poverty and strange conditions. Their leaders, whether pastors or politicians, were largely recruited from the ranks, and they had little or no appreciation of the literature and history of the land that gave them birth. Their language was inadequate to the everyday transactions because it contained no equivalents for many typically American things, such as government officials and household necessities. Swedish nouns were not equal to the task of beating back the English invasion. The foreign language was like a girdled tree, and the words withered and dropped away. The pastors insisted that the language be learned for its own sake, that it was something in itself; it was taught to the children, therefore, but they learned it mechanically and without understanding it. They spoke Swedish but thought in English.

Let us consider a region in southeastern Iowa, in Henry County, to illustrate the process of Americanization. To the east the prairies were originally settled by people from New York and New England, Pennsylvania, and the southern uplands. These groups built Presbyterian, United Presbyterian, Methodist, and Quaker churches and meetinghouses. To the west was Swedesburg, one of the wealthiest Swedish settlements in the state, whose foundations were laid in 1866. Its center was a Lutheran church in which the services were exclusively Swedish until the beginning of the present century. Adjoining it to the west was a "neutral" zone peopled by Yankees, Southerners, Germans, and Swedes. This cosmopolitan strip was bounded on the west by a German Amish settlement. Down to 1900 there was little social intercourse between these settlements except at threshing time and at auction sales. When the Mennonites, whom the Yankees called the "hook-and-eye Dutch," drove through the Swedish settlement to the county seat, they were regarded as beings from another world. The Yankees to the east had a similar attitude toward the Swedes.

Now all this is changed. The occupants of an automobile speeding over the paved roads present the same appearance regardless of what community they call their home. Intermarriage among Yankees, Swedes, and Germans has caused the name of the Swedish church to be changed to indicate that it is a "community" church. Banks in which a Swedish depositor was at one time a curiosity now have directors of that nationality. This process has been repeated in every Swedish community. In solidly Swedish settlements such as Chisago Lake and Scandia in Minnesota, where until the time of the World War Swedish was spoken by the children on the playground and business was transacted in Swedish, English services have been introduced and English is used almost exclusively by the younger generation.

Very little inspiration to preserve the language and culture has come from Sweden. We have seen that the educated and upper classes looked down upon the emigrants and regarded them as virtual traitors. Repeatedly, throughout the years of the emigration movement, proposals were made to limit or stop the stream, but any measure that ran contrary to the intense Swedish love of personal liberty received scant, if any, support in the *Riksdag.* There were always men in this body, moreover, who recognized that there were good reasons for emigration to the United States and who took the position that the way to check the movement was to seek out the causes and to bring about reforms that would make Sweden as attractive as America to the workingman. During the last century the debates in the *Riksdag* with reference to emigration proved conclusively that the vast majority of the members would have nothing to do with measures designed to restrict the movements of individuals. In religion this love for personal liberty sometimes assumed the color of intolerance. Within broad limits the established church allowed utmost freedom, and to a certain extent the *läsare* movement was frowned upon because of its intolerance. The old church, therefore, was intolerant toward the Mission Friends, Baptists, and Methodists because of their intolerance. It was not until the turn of the century that the government may be said to have had anything that could be called an emigration policy; and when it did act, it legislated not to restrict the freedom of the individual but to inaugurate reforms designed to remove the desire to emigrate and to furnish information to those who emigrated.

Under a law of 1768 the right to emigrate was rather narrowly restricted and the permission of the king was required. In 1840, however, on the eve of the great exodus, this enactment was repealed; and in 1860 passport requirements were practically abolished. Except for the obligation to perform military service, which was easily circumvented, there were no serious legal obstacles to emigration. Warnings against emigration were given from time to time by pastors and officials, but in the face of the propaganda of emigration agents and highly optimistic "America letters" they were fruitless.

Specific proposals that precipitated debates were made in the

Riksdag in 1863, 1867, 1869, 1870, 1873, 1881, and 1882. These proposals included, among others, suggestions to finance publications exposing the experiences of disillusioned emigrants; to require of emigrants security for the care of dependents left behind; to require of emigration agents deposits as a guarantee of responsibility; and to levy a tax on each emigrant. It does not lie within the province of this book to present a comprehensive account of Swedish legislation relating to emigration, except as the debates betray the spirit of the country and the attitude toward the emigrants.

Generally speaking, emigration was lamented as a drain on the man power of the nation, and the glowing accounts of America were regarded as highly exaggerated; but the proposal that the government finance the publication of an "exposure" of conditions in America was not seriously entertained. One bishop admitted that information about the dangers of emigration should be disseminated, but he could not countenance the appropriation of money for a publication whose policy was determined beforehand, nor lend it moral support. Speaking about three years after the organization of the Augustana Synod in 1860, this churchman expressed the hope that the synod might become the means of spreading the "true doctrine" in a land of so many religious parties. He considered it unwise to finance a one-sided publication, which would only increase the hostility against the emigrants and hamper the work of the Augustana Synod, especially in view of the action of the king in granting permission to take up offerings in the churches of the realm in its behalf.[22] This sentiment was indorsed by other clergymen. One of the speakers from a community where the desire to emigrate was strong stated that the emigrants were of a fanatical type, imbued with Baptist tendencies and immune to reason or facts. He had sought in vain to dissuade them, but to everything that was said or read to them the ready reply was that the letters from America told them differently. They believed the letters rather than the newspapers.[23]

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[22] Bishop Björck, February 7, 1863, in *Presteståndets protokoll,* 1862–1863, 2: 204–205.

[23] Court Chaplain Lithner, February 7, 1863, in *Prestestandet's protokoll,* 1862–1863, 2: 204–205.

In reply to the suggestion from the consul in San Francisco in 1861 that an annual subvention be granted to a benevolent society for the benefit of destitute Scandinavians, the Swedish minister replied that it would be contrary to the policy of the government to encourage in any way, or even to appear to encourage, emigration from the thinly populated country. Indicative of the attitude of Sweden toward America is the fact that when citizens of the United States sent voluntary contributions in behalf of the victims of famine in Sweden in 1868, the foreign minister instructed the minister in Washington to acknowledge such expressions of good will but to do nothing that might indicate that the situation could not be handled without aid from abroad.[24]

In 1869 it was objected, with reference to a bill to compel emigrants to satisfy certain requirements, that officials might abuse the law by placing all possible obstacles in the way of the emigrant and demanding unreasonable security.[25] Every proposition of similar character was reported unfavorably and failed to come to a vote. Important legislation concerning emigration agents was enacted from time to time, but its object was to protect the emigrant as much as to promote the general welfare.

Carl Albert Lindhagen, a representative from Stockholm, introduced an interesting plan in 1869, and the response it provoked is interesting and illuminating. Lindhagen's speech was made at a time when patriots "watched, with dumb amazement, the increasing emigration." As a newspaper correspondent pointed out, never had the situation been so distressing, "for the larger number of emigrants is made up of young vigorous people, to a large degree from that group called *läsare*—in other words, those who have with earnestness grappled with the greatest end of life: to live holy and to die happy."[26] His motion was to appropriate a sum of money to bring about a better organization of emigration and to concentrate the emigrants in the United States.

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[24] Considerable correspondence with accompanying documents is preserved in *Riksarkivet* in Stockholm.

[25] *Andra kammarens protokoll,* April 28, 1869, 4: 62.

[26] "Layman," in *Hemlandet,* August 10, 1869, translated in the *Yearbook of the Swedish Historical Society of America,* 1922–1923, pp. 146–150.

Lindhagen deplored the departure of so many sons from the fatherland but believed it impossible to stop emigration. He contrasted Germany and England; in the former country emigration was opposed because it entailed loss of capital and man power, whereas in England it was accepted calmly because it was known that wherever English emigrants settled they created a "New England" in which the English national spirit, language, culture, and customs were preserved. He believed that if the emigrants were directed to Wisconsin, Minnesota, and North Dakota and if agents were stationed in Swedish communities, the emigrants would not be a total loss to the fatherland. The agents were not to be paid servants of the Swedish government exactly, but money was to be appropriated to enable them to assist the emigrants and render an advisory service. What benefit would accrue to the mother country? he asked. It would be spiritual and moral. Swedish words would be heard and Swedish books would be read in far-off places, and the language, instead of being unknown in the world at large, would become a cultural medium. The Swedes would have the opportunity of building up their own nationality in northwestern America.[27]

The committee to which the motion was referred reported unfavorably on it, on the ground that it involved moral obligations that ought not be assumed and that the fortune of emigrants depended less upon climate and natural resources than upon their education and their hardihood and industry. One house (*första kammaren*) rejected the motion without debate and the other (*andra kammaren*) voted it down after a short deliberation. At that time the first house was composed largely of members of the nobility and the clerical estate. One member expressed the opinion that Lindhagen's speech belonged in the category of addresses given before literary societies or in the interests of public education. Others expressed appreciation of the spirit of the address, but were unable to indorse the idea of building up a Swedish national minority in the United States. It was asked what would be the reaction in Sweden if Germans, Finns, and Russians should encourage immigration to Sweden in order to strengthen their own nationalities there. It was pointed out that the clannishness of the German immigrants had awakened distrust in the United States. Every friend of the United States, it was said, ought to wish that all nationalities might be fused there; certainly nothing should be done to hinder this fusion. Moreover, the American nation had become so powerful that it was able to absorb even the Germans, who were resisting absorption. One speaker had information to the effect that the Swedish nationality was disappearing in the United States, that even the emigrants forgot their native tongue, that their children did not learn Swedish, and that the next generation would be entirely assimilated. He suggested that instead of treating the emigrants ungraciously, as had been done in the past, Sweden should dismiss them in such a way that they would remember their native land with gratitude.

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[27] *Bihang till Riksdagens protokoll,* 1869, 1 saml. 2 afd. motioner, no. 323, 4 saml. 1 afd. no. 37; *Andra kammarens protokoll,* March 9, 1869, 2: 14–32. Lindhagen's speech was published in pamphlet form as *Yttrande i Riksdagens andra kammare angående emigrationen,* Stockholm, 1869. Some comment on Lindhagen's motion is found in "Röster från Amerika om utvandringen," *Samtiden,* Stockholm, September 20, 1873.

The year after Lindhagen brought forward his plan, Carl Lewenhaupt, *chargé d'affaires* of Sweden and Norway, visited Scandinavian settlements in the West in order to get a first-hand knowledge of conditions. His report to the government was eminently fair. He found the emigrants in better circumstances, in general, than if they had remained at home, although he was not blind to a number of exceptions.[28] Many instances of fraud and deception practiced on emigrants came to his notice, but he was unable to suggest any fundamental remedy for the situation. Applications for financial and other assistance were made to the Swedish embassy and to the consulates, but the response was on the whole disappointing. Money was not available, and the government maintained that the emigrants had made their own decisions and that to assist unfortunates to return to Sweden would merely increase the number in need of aid by lessening the risks of emigration.

The idea of a "Swedish colony," although confined to a very few, did not die out entirely. Albert Lindhagen as a member of the *Riksdag* in 1910 and 1912 reminded its members of his father's plan and suggested emigration legislation that would take into account the desirability of concentrating emigrants in foreign countries so that their nationality might not be lost.[29] Although the atmosphere of the twentieth century was more favorable than it had been when the original proposal was made, the legislative body was unresponsive, as we shall see.

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[28] Carl Lewenhaupt, *Berättelse af kongl. maj:ts chargé d'affaires i Washington rörande emigrationen från de Förenade Rikena till Amerikas Förenta Stater den 17 november 1870,* Stockholm, 1871.

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[29] *Bihang till Riksdagens protokoll,* 1910, 1 saml. 2 afd., vol. 2, no. 148; *Andra kammarens protokoll,* 1912, no. 53.

CHAPTER XXIX

SWEDEN AND HER AMERICAN CHILDREN IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

AT THE beginning of the twentieth century a combination of circumstances and events conspired to put an end to the policy of laissez faire with reference to emigration and the Swedish-Americans. The change of policy rode on the wave of a national renaissance. Books, pamphlets, and editorials designed to stimulate patriotism and a sense of responsibility for the defense of the fatherland appeared in large number. The "Russification" of Finland and the sifting across the frontier of an army of Russian spies presaged the day when every Swede might be called upon to give his life and substance in defense of the very integrity of his country. Finland furnished the proponents of increased military service with an example of the fate of a country without proper defense. Moreover, a series of misunderstandings extending over a long period of years culminated in the dissolution in 1905 of the union between Sweden and Norway. The act of separation was effected without bloodshed, but feeling in both countries ran high; and there were individuals and factions willing and even anxious to unsheath the sword. Unrest among the working classes, augmented by the activity of Socialists and Communists, reached its climax in a serious lockout in 1903 and the great general strike of 1909, one of the most alarming crises in the long history of Sweden. Emigration declined after the panic of 1893, after having reached its second culmination in the years from 1880 to 1893, when the number of emigrants averaged 50,000 a year. It mounted again to its third culmination in 1903, however, when the figure reached 39,500. It was with dismay that Swedish patriots saw emigration from their own sparsely populated country increase and that from Germany decline, until in 1902 and 1903 Swedish emigration exceeded German. They pointed to Germany's industrial development and growing exports and concluded that Sweden had to choose between exporting merchandise and exporting people.

Indicative of a rising tide of public sentiment against emigration was a series of articles published in 1903 in *Göteborgs Aftonblad,* of which Vilhelm Lundström was editor. The writer, who was probably Adrian Molin, expounded the thesis that economic power was the order of the day and that its development was dependent upon the intelligence and muscles of the working classes. The small and weak countries were doomed, he said, as Finland proved conclusively. Sweden must either become a large and powerful state or else meet the fate of Finland.

> Our country is not benefited by the armchair patriotism of liberalism; it needs chauvinism. Swedish liberalism has destroyed love for the fatherland and at the same time, aided and abetted by the class egotism of the *bonde,* has made the country practically defenseless. Liberalism has allowed seven or eight hundred thousand Swedes to emigrate without doing a thing to keep them at home.

The author predicted that England and Germany would soon reach the culmination of their development and then would look for outlets for their surplus populations. When that time came, Sweden must be in a position to defend itself and must have twenty million people to withstand the power of sixty or seventy million. A gloomy picture of conditions in Sweden was presented, which included such items as the declining birth rate, lack of initiative and industry, love of luxury, and bureaucracy. A program to make the country a more attractive place to live was suggested, but the immediate measure proposed to check emigration was a law prohibiting the emigration of men eligible to military service.[1]

For the Swedish emigrant and prospective emigrant America was the "country without compulsory military service." The evidence is contradictory with regard to the importance of the desire to escape military service as a cause of emigration from Sweden; and quite naturally patriots have been reluctant to admit that any considerable number have left the mother country because of unwillingness to serve under the colors. However, emigration statistics read in the light of contributory testimony point strongly in that direction. It was not so much that the average young man was unwilling to serve his country, but rather that he rebelled against the haughty and starchy military caste. An important element among the free-church people, moreover, objected strenuously to the moral atmosphere surrounding camp life. In 1892, when agitation for increased military service resulted in a law requiring ninety days' service, Waldenström admitted that a majority of the free-church people were opposed to his advocacy of it.[2] K. J. Nyvall, next to Waldenström perhaps the most prominent leader among the Mission Friends, thought it strange that he did not understand the difference in the degree of sacrifice involved in military service for the rich and the poor, and he asserted that better control over overbearing lieutenants should be assured before the period of service was extended.[3] Although some of the free-church people opposed compulsory military service because it was contrary to freedom of conscience, the overwhelming majority objected to it as demoralizing to young men, exposed as they were to vice, gambling, and the oaths of domineering officers.[4] On his visit to Sweden in 1885, John Martenson, editor of *Chicago-Bladet,* reported that at the sight of army officers his companion remarked: "That is our splendid wretchedness."[5]

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[1] *Göteborgs Aftonblad,* March 3, 7, 14, 1903.

In confirmation of the statement, made editorially in 1903 by an influential paper, that one cause of the great increase of emigration was the extension of the period of military service, may be cited the upward trend of emigration following the enactment of such legislation in 1885, 1892, and 1901.[6] Although in most cases application for permission to emigrate by men of military age was a mere formality, it is significant that among the emigrants the number of young men of the age just previous to that of eligibility to service was disproportionately large. Moreover, the parish records bear witness that many departed without even the formality of making application for permission.[7] It appears also that in order to escape military service men would obtain permission to change their residence to another parish and then, with their names crossed from the records, remain in the same parish. The authorities in such cases had no check on them.[8] The question most frequently asked at the Gothenburg bureau of the National Society against Emigration by visiting Swedish-Americans was: "If we decide to stay, will we be exempted from military service?" Most of them declared that they would return to the United States rather than submit to military service.[9]

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[2] P. Waldenström, *För fosterlandet. Anföranden i andra kammaren den 6 april och 22 november 1892 jemte inledning och efterskrift,* Stockholm, 1893, pp. 3–4.

[3] Nyvall, *Min faders testamente,* 286–287. See communication signed "S. J.," in *Hemlandsvännen,* October 27, 1892.

[4] *Hemlandsvännen,* January 22, 29, April 4, 1891; May 25, October 13, November 29, 1892; Svenning Johansson, in *Hemlandsvännen,* December 30, 1892; N. J. Nordström, in *Frikyrkomötet,* 1924, p. 166.

[5] *Chicago-Bladet,* September 15, 1885.

[6] *Göteborgs Handels- och Sjöfarts-Tidning,* April 29, 1903.

A survey of legislation concerning military service does not lie within the scope of this book; but it is pertinent, as well as interesting, to consider the character of the literature of propaganda called forth by the extraordinary situation in the decade preceding the World War. In a series of articles published in *Stockholms Dagblad* in 1883 Ernst Beckman in reporting his observations in the United States suggested that the way to stop emigration was "to move America over to Sweden"; that is, to increase opportunities for employment, to respect the workingman, to assist him to become a freeholder, to remove unnecessary restrictions on religious freedom, to acquaint him with the advantages of living in the land of the midnight sun — in short, to make Sweden a better country in which to live.

The propaganda of the twentieth century has been in keeping with Beckman's suggestion. A crop of pamphlets and editorials has appeared designed to appeal to young men to serve their country unselfishly and "to shame" those who emigrated in order to escape the obligations of military service. Instead of denouncing emigrants as "unfaithful sons," these writings uphold the Swedish-Americans as models whose example should be emulated. In the words of one propagandist, the Swedish immigrant of today finds a very different spirit among Swedish-Americans from that which prevailed in the past. In the old days, he continues, it was fashionable to speak bitterly and spitefully of Sweden as a poverty-stricken country with no justice and no future; but this kind of speech is no longer good form. Swedish consciousness has awakened among them and in the far West they and their descendants have built up a New Sweden, where the Swedish language, history, religion, poetry, traditions, and customs are held in high esteem. The prosperous immigrant in America should not forget that Sweden gave him a free education, his trade, his religion, free speech, and the benefits and discipline of law. He should consider what would be the consequences if a foreign power conquered the fatherland and should take note of what was happening before the eyes of Europe in Finland, Poland, and Schleswig. The patriotism of the Swedish-Americans in the Civil and Spanish-American wars was cited as an example of the appropriate spirit in people of Swedish blood. The hostility of the church people was realized, and books and pamphlets were written to assure them that efforts were made to give the conscripts a healthy moral environment.[10]

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[7] *Sociala Meddelanden,* Stockholm, 1914, p. 596. In a conversation with Pastor Carl W. Andeer of Sorunda, Sweden, on December 27, 1927, the author was informed that during the time the former was in charge of the Augustana Synod Immigrant Home in Boston from 1900 to 1905 there would sometimes be between seven and eight hundred men leaving Sweden on a single boat to escape military service. Pastor Andeer is of the opinion that military service played a large rôle in stimulating emigration.

[8] See statement of Major General A. von Matern, in *Stockholms Dagblad,* September 11, 1907.

[9] *National Föreningen mot Emigrationens Verksamhet,* Stockholm, 1908, p. 7.

The first step toward a constructive emigration policy was taken early in 1903, when one hundred and sixteen residents of Gothenburg signed a petition to the king suggesting certain measures that not only would make it a patriotic duty to remain in the fatherland, but that would give promise of a bright future.[11] The comprehensive survey financed by the government to seek out the causes of emigration, the organization of the National Society against Emigration (*Nationalföreningen mot Emigrationen*), and that of the Society for the Preservation of Swedish Culture in Foreign Lands (*Riksföreningen för Svenskhetens Bevarande i Utlandet*) is a story by itself. In this connection we are interested in the effect of the movement "to preserve the Swedes for Sweden" in the United States.

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[10] Examples of this type of literature are E. Liljedahl, *Fredshopp och värnkraft,* Stockholm, 1901; Teodor Holmberg, *Den värnpliktige utvandringen och försvaret. Fälthögskolans småskrifter* I, Stockholm, 1903; Richard Conricus, *Hem och härd. Studier i egna-hemsfrågan,* Gothenburg, 1903; Paul Nilsson, *Gudsfruktans betydelse för landets försvar. Ord till de värnpliktige. Skrifter utgifna af Svenska Sällskapet för nykterhet och folkuppfostran,* 1904; F. A. Wingborg, *Sverige eller Amerika? Några erinringar till dem, som tänka emigrera,* Stockholm, 1904. Gustav Sundbärg (*Tankar i utvandringsfrågan,* pages 257–258) cites the case of a *bonde* in Värmland who sent his eldest son to America in order that he might escape military service. Upon arriving in the United States he enlisted in the United States army in the Spanish-American War. He was mustered out with a medal for bravery. Sundbärg says that a Swede is proud to be in the army of a world power like the United States but that in Sweden patriotism slumbers and many persons think military service useless because Sweden is too small to defend itself.

In response to a public appeal signed by prominent men in various walks of life, including Bishop Schéele, Per Pehrsson, Adrian Molin, and Gustav Sundbärg, a public meeting was held in Stockholm, on May 22, 1907, to discuss emigration. This was after the government investigation was started, and considerable material had already been made public. Labor troubles were rife and strikes and lockouts were threatened. The opening address was given by Adrian Molin, who was undoubtedly the most prominent individual in the movement. In the discussion that followed, the hope of inducing Swedish-Americans to return loomed rather large. A constitution was adopted and soon the National Society against Emigration, which had been voted an annual subsidy by the government, was under way.[12]

The depression following the panic of 1907, coming when the anti-emigration movement was developing, furnished a welcome opportunity to repeat the cry that accompanied every period of intensive emigration, namely, that America was no longer the land of opportunity. Never had the press painted America in darker colors, and never had the rejoicing been greater over the alleged fact that America was the land of humbug. Stories of terrible experiences of Swedish emigrants were published, and the charge of backwardness on the part of federal and state governments in passing measures relating to the protection of workingmen and to sanitation and insurance was widely circulated. Ten million people, it was said, were walking the streets, homeless and in want of necessary clothing and food; child labor was exploited, and human life was lightly regarded. Dissatisfied returned emigrants were employed to lecture on conditions in America and to make house-to-house canvasses.[13] Prominent publicists and writers were enlisted to write popular stories about emigrants that would wring all the glamor from the silk dresses that draped the bodies of Swedish-American housemaids visiting their native parishes.[14] Unfortunately for the anti-emigration propagandists, the economic depression in Sweden from 1907 to 1910 weakened their case, and the great strike of 1909, which was given wide publicity, threatened to precipitate a mass emigration to South America.[15]

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[11] The petition with signatures is published in *Göteborgs Aftonblad,* April 28, 29, 1903. *Göteborgs Handels- och Sjöfarts-Tidning* and *Göteborgs Tidningen,* April 30, 1903, ridiculed the petition.

[12] *Svenska Dagbladet,* May 21, 23, June 12, 1907. Molin's address is printed in *Kvartalsblad utgifven af Nationalföreningen mot Emigrationen,* 1908, pp. 1–6. A fairly good idea of Molin's point of view may be found in Adrian Molin, *Vanhäfd,* 2d ed., Stockholm, 1911. His contributions are voluminous.

In the earlier years of the anti-emigration movement high hopes were entertained for the return of many Swedish-Americans, and literature addressed directly to them was published. Even before the beginning of the present century, suggestions were made from time to time with this end in view,[16] and the National Society against Emigration made use of the fact that, as it stated in its confidential instructions to its agents, "boasting is a national characteristic of the Swedes which flourishes mightily in the American atmosphere." Agents were instructed to locate and follow returned emigrants, learn the trend of their conversation, warn people who might have fallen under the spell of their ready tongues, and try to induce the visitors to make their stay permanent by informing them about farms for sale and business opportunities. The colonization of Norrland and the "own your own home" movement was designed to induce Swedish-Americans to return as well as to prevent people from leaving. The bureau of the society in Gothenburg was prepared especially to give assistance and to answer inquiries of Swedish-Americans concerning employment, military service, marriage laws, and citizenship. Attractive folders and pamphlets were printed explaining the procedure in these matters. Per Pehrsson, a pastor in Gothenburg who had attended the jubilee celebration of the Augustana Synod in 1910, was enlisted to prepare such a pamphlet.[17] This publication admonished the emigrants to be a credit to Sweden and not to be ashamed of their nationality, to speak Swedish in the presence of their countrymen, to remember relatives at home, to remember God and his Word and to join Augustana Synod churches, and to return some day to spend the remainder of their days in the land of their fathers. The law governing the status of expatriated Swedes in regard to citizenship and marriage was explained. A list of Augustana Synod churches in several cities, prepared by a pastor in the state church who had formerly been a member of the Augustana ministerium, was included. Certain obstacles were removed that had prevented the return of emigrants who had not fulfilled the obligations of military service.

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[13] *Kungliga Biblioteket* in Stockholm has a complete collection of the literature, pamphlets, and circulars issued by the National Society against Emigration. Typical are Henry von Kraemer, *Ett ord till amerikafararen,* Stockholm, 1909; T. W. Schönberg, *Sanningen om Amerika,* Stockholm, 1909. See also E. H. Thörnberg, "Socialekonomiska förhållanden i Förenta Staterna. Landet med tio millioner fattiga," *Svenska Dagbladet,* April 6, 1907; letters from dissatisfied Swedes in America, in *Stockholms-Tidningen,* May, June, July, 1914.

[14] V. Swanston Howard, *När Maja-Lisa kom hem från Amerika,* Stockholm, 1908; Axel Lundeberg, *John Johnsons hemkomst från Amerika,* Chicago, 1907; E. Lindblom, *Per Jansons Amerika-resa,* Stockholm, 1909.

[15] Gösta Olzon, *Ett emigrationsäfventyr. Det senaste emigrationen till Brasilien,* Stockholm, 1913.

[16] See, for example, *Hemlandsvännen,* October 31, 1892.

The dissolution of the union of the Swedish and Norwegian crowns in 1905 was followed shortly by changes in the personnel of the Swedish diplomatic and consular services. In order to appease the dissatisfied element in Norway, a rather large proportion of Norwegians were appointed as agents in these services, with the result that the Swedish-Americans felt that they were slighted by His Majesty's government. The appointment of Herman L. F. Lagercrantz to succeed a Norwegian as minister to the United States in 1907 was obviously a gesture of friendliness toward the Swedish-Americans. During the summer the new minister made a speaking tour through Swedish-America, going as far west as Minnesota. His speeches reflected the trend of events in Sweden, being highly suggestive of the propaganda of the anti-emigration society. As a representative of a foreign government, however, he guarded his words.

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[17] Per Pehrsson, *Råd och anvisningar för utvandrare till Amerika. Utgifven af allmänna Svenska Prästföreningen under sammanverkan med Nationalföreningen mot Emigrationen*, Gävle, 1912; *Nationalföreningen mot Emigrationen, Göteborg, byra och egnahemsutställning: Postgatan 28*, Gothenburg, 1917.

He admonished Swedish-Americans to be loyal to their adopted country and to be a credit to the country that gave them birth. He disclaimed any intention to induce them to return but made it plain that Sweden would welcome those who returned voluntarily and who could profit by the practical experience they had gained in America. These speeches were contemporaneous with the publication in Sweden of literature addressed to Swedish-Americans and with the commissioning of agents of the Swedish government to take passage on transatlantic liners in order to interview emigrants. In the light of these events, and of the comment of the newspapers of Sweden after the event, it is easy to understand why Lagercrantz's tenure at Washington was short-lived.[18] In order to obtain the cooperation of Swedish-Americans, the anti-emigration society enrolled a number of prominent men among them as corresponding members.[19]

The National Society against Emigration was one manifestation of the chauvinism and educational patriotism that followed the dissolution of the union with Norway, but as an isolated movement it accomplished nothing. It is an ironical fact that in the year that marked the twentieth anniversary of the society Herman Lagercrantz and Nils Wohlin, important figures in the movement, were on a tour of South and Central America to determine what opportunities these fields afforded graduates of technical institutions to whom Sweden offered little or no future. In spite of the activity of the society, emigration reached its fourth culmination in 1923, when the figure rose to 29,200. When the immigration act of 1924 and the national origins provision, effective in 1929, reduced the Swedish quota to 9,561 and 3,314, respectively, the American government solved the problem only too well. Declining membership in the National Society against Emigration bore witness to flagging interest, and the unemployment situation during the years of readjustment following the World War convinced even the leaders in the organization that under certain conditions emigration was desirable.

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[18] A. Schön, "Den nye svenske ministern till Förenta Staterna," *Prärieblomman,* 1908, pp. 146–153. For material with reference to propaganda among Swedish-Americans, including correspondence with Lagercrantz, see *Emigrationsutredningen,* bilaga 20. Reports of agents on steamships, Gösta Bagge and E. H. Thörnberg, are printed in *Emigrationsutredningen,* bilaga 7. The *World Today,* a magazine published at Chicago, sharply condemned the efforts to induce Swedish-Americans to return. Von Koch, *Emigranternas land,* 389.

[19] *Berättelse öfver Nationalföreningens mot Emigrationen Verksamhet,* Stockholm, 1909.

The outcome was that in 1925 the society was reorganized into *Sällskapet Hem i Sverige* (Homes in Sweden). It maintains sumptuous quarters in Stockholm and functions as a real estate firm under the directing genius of Adrian Molin.[20] The dream of a Sweden populated by twenty million prosperous inhabitants and a Norrland cut up into productive farms has vanished as the birth rate has declined below that of any other country of Europe. The high standard of living and the reduction of unemployment to a minimum at the beginning of the third decade of the present century bears witness to the wisdom of the words written in 1913 by Gustav Sundbärg, the director of *Emigrationsutredningen.* There is no royal road to the checking of emigration, he said. No miracle cures a universal malady. What is needed is a general economic awakening among the people.[21]

From 1927 to 1929, while Congress debated the national origins provision, the Swedish newspapers watched the course of the bill apprehensively, fearing that the Swedish quota would be reduced; but there was no harsh criticism, and it was recognized that it was the indisputable right of the American government to legislate as it saw fit. In commenting on the interpellation of a member of the *Riksdag* in 1928 as to the policy of the government in assisting prospective emigrants to find opportunities abroad, a facetious reporter wrote: "Isn't it funny? Formerly we quarreled about what should be done to keep people from emigrating; now we are quarreling about what should be done to send them on their way. It seems that we shall never have exactly the right number of people in Sweden."[22]

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[20] *Hem i Sverige,* 1925, pp. 41–50, contains an account of the meeting and the revised constitution. The organization continues the publication of an attractive magazine, *Hem i Sverige,* which was changed from a quarterly to a monthly in 1927. An excellent summary of the activities of the society is Paul Bergholm, *Nationalföreningen mot Emigrationen 1907–1917,* Stockholm, 1917. A sympathetic appraisal of the government inquiry into the causes of emigration is E. H. Thörnberg, "Emigrationen, Emigrationsutredningen, och Svensk-America," *Svenska Dagbladet,* April 4, 1927. Lagercrantz's account of his mission to South America is published in *Svenska Dagbladet,* January 31, 1928. The same paper ran a series of articles by Nils Wohlin in the winter and spring of 1928.

[21] Sundbärg, *Tankar i utvandringsfrågan,* 285–286.

The visitor to Sweden today will meet a considerable number of men and women who have chosen to return permanently to their native land after a longer or shorter sojourn in the "dollar land," but in proportion to the total emigration the number is astonishingly small.[23] Swedish propaganda was powerless to destroy the magic of America. Among the returned emigrants agriculturists are the most numerous. A number of them have returned to take over the homestead after the deaths of their parents, and a few have obtained employment in industry. It has happened not infrequently that Swedish-Americans, expecting to enjoy the advantages of social distinction, have invested their savings in a farm in Sweden, erected modern buildings, and purchased expensive implements and machinery, only to sell out at a loss in order to return to "God's country." Ears accustomed to the Swedish-American language, as it is called, often hear tourists from America make some such remark as "I wouldn't live here if you'd give me the whole cussed country."

Extracts from two letters written by Swedish-Americans in reply to inquiries from *Emigrationsutredningen* may help to show why America was first in their affections.

> But in spite of all this, I love my native land and its people — but not the lords. Now that my wife and I are in a position to purchase a home, we would be happy to return to spend our remaining days in Sweden; but it would be a great injustice to our children to bring them to a country where the language and customs are strange and prospects for the future are much less inviting than here. Consequently we will stay where we are.[24]

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[22] *Dagens Nyheter,* Stockholm, June 1, 1928. *Ny Tid,* a Socialist paper, while admitting that Sweden's unemployment problem must be solved in other ways, asserted that at present emigration must be considered desirable and that it was the duty of the government to do what it could in order that emigrants might not leave blindly. Quoted in *Dagens Nyheter,* May 10, 1928. In reply to the interpellation, the prime minister recognized the duty of the government to protect emigrants and to furnish information, but said that under no circumstances should the voluntary principle of emigration be abandoned. The debate was merely perfunctory.

[23] *Sociala Meddelanden,* 1913, p. 672.

[24] "J. E. C.," in *Emigrationsutredningen,* bilaga 7, p. 168.

The second letter was written by a resident of Minnesota who emigrated in 1891.

> There are many reasons why Swedish-Americans do not feel at home in Sweden: The ridiculous " title sickness " and silly class distinctions, the cringing of the lower classes and the overbearing manner of the upper, the antipathy against Swedish-Americans and " self-made " men, the bureaucracy and pedantry, the complicated system by which the well-to-do dominate politics, compulsory military service, and the whole system that makes it impossible for the person dependent upon his own earning power to make as good a living as a lot of good-for-nothings who have come into possession of degrees that enable them to live like parasites. In my opinion, it is useless to try to counteract emigration or to seek to induce Swedish-Americans to return as long as conditions over there are as they are. Swedes, as well as Swedish-Americans, have larger claims on life than the ruling classes are willing to grant. Let emigration continue. You can fill their places with Slavs or other inferior races who have less ambition and are more adapted to the present system. It is too much to expect that the rulers will make changes for the advantage of the common people.[25]

A by-product of the national renaissance was the Society for the Preservation of Swedish Culture in Foreign Lands. It outlived the anti-emigration society, but so far as the United States is concerned, it has been little more effective than the defunct sister organization. The leading spirit was Vilhelm Lundström, editor of *Göteborgs Aftonblad,* the paper that had given a powerful stimulus to the organization of the anti-emigration propaganda through the articles and editorials it had published in 1903. Adrian Molin was clear-sighted enough never to have entertained hope for the preservation of the Swedish language and culture in the United States. Lundström and his followers, who regarded the Augustana Synod as the bulwark of the Swedish cause, had a great disillusionment in store for them; but Molin saw the synod as first of all an ecclesiastical organization, secondly, as an American institution, and thirdly, as a Swedish one. He knew how rapidly the Swedish emigrant became Americanized and understood that his attachment to his native land was merely a sentimental memory for the spot where he played as a boy. In this spirit he wrote of the emigrant:

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[25] " L. F. L.," in *Emigrationsutredningen,* bilaga 7, p. 220.

> He is fundamentally an American, and his children are in all respects American. Swedish culture can never be fostered by teaching the children of emigrants to speak broken Swedish and to read the Swedish Catechism. The only incentive for the young Swedish-American to learn Swedish is the knowledge that it might be of practical value in the event of his return to the Old Country at some future time to " do business." [26]

In 1907, the year of the organization of the National Society against Emigration, a meeting was held in Stockholm in response to a communication signed by Lundström and three others, suggesting a consideration of possible means of preserving the Swedish language and culture in foreign lands. A committee was appointed, of which Lundström was secretary. The original idea seems to have been to organize cultural societies among Swedish citizens sojourning in the larger cities of Europe. Because of the interest manifested in the movement by its citizens, Gothenburg became the headquarters of the society.[27] In 1928 a larger building was secured, and the beginnings of a library and museum have been made. The publications include a *Yearbook* and a weekly, *Allsvensk Samling,* edited by Lundström until 1923, when he was succeeded by Ragnar Fleege. There are local organizations in Sweden, as well as in several other countries.

It was not until 1910 that the movement was organized in the United States. In that year the Augustana Synod celebrated its semicentennial, and dignitaries from Sweden were present, including Per Pehrsson, who was one of the principal figures in the anti-emigration society. He was instrumental in effecting the organization of the Society for the Preservation of Swedish Culture in America at Rock Island, the annual meetings of which were at first held at the same time and place as the conventions of the Augustana Synod.[28] The work was just beginning when the World War, which rendered suspect everything from across the water, brought the society to a standstill. In 1924 it was revived under a new name, the Swedish Cultural Society in America (*Svenska Kulturförbundet i Amerika*). From the beginning the American organization has been independent of the older society, which is officially designated as a " sister organization." This fact bears eloquent testimony to the sensitiveness of the Swedish-Americans in all matters that concern their loyalty to America.

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[26] Molin, *Vanhäfd,* 80–83.

[27] " Riksföreningens förhistoria," *Årsbok af Riksföreningens för Svenskhetens Bevarande i Utlandet,* 1909, pp. 1–12; *Svenska Dagbladet,* April 10, 1907. The constitution was adopted on December 3, 1908. A new constitution was adopted on December 12, 1913, and amended on December 15, 1919. On February 24, 1928, another new constitution went into effect. *Allsvensk Samling,* May 1, 1914, January 2, 1920, March 20, 1928.

In the hysterical days of the war there were rabid patriots among Swedish-Americans as among other groups, though but one educational institution, Minnesota College, took up the Americanization fad. A Swedish-American wrote a bitter communication impugning the loyalty of *Ungdomsvännen* and *Augustana*.[29] The governor of Minnesota, J. A. A. Burnquist, born of immigrant parents, stated publicly that no language other than English should be taught in the public schools and that every immigrant should be obliged to learn the language of the country on penalty of deportation. Three members of the legislature whose descent was Swedish voted for the drastic Oregon foreign-language law in 1920.[30] A majority of Swedish-American pastors were pro-German in sympathy, and many petitions against the entrance of the United States into the war were addressed to Congress by Swedish organizations; but after the die had been cast, individuals and groups who had opposed the action emulated the example of their countrymen by adopting resolutions of loyalty and doing their "bit" to bring the war to a successful termination. With sons in the army and navy and daughters in the Red Cross, Swedish-Americans became as intolerant of disloyalty and alleged disloyalty as other citizens in similar circumstances. In America it was well known that there was a strong pro-German party in Sweden, and when after the Luxburg affair Sweden was represented in the American press as a secret friend of Germany, everything that suggested the northern kingdom was under suspicion. Americans of Swedish blood felt keenly the ostracism that they suffered in consequence.[31]

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[28] Per Pehrsson, " Svenskarne i Amerika," *Årsbok*, 1910, pp. 37–38; *Allsvensk Samling*, September 1, 1919, March 1, 1922.

[29] Ernst W. Olson, " A Word to Patriots in all Camps," *Ungdomsvännen*, August, 1917. This is a reply to the communication in *Ungdomsvännen*.

[30] *Allsvensk Samling*, June 16, 1919; *Svenska Pacific Tribunen*, quoted in *Allsvensk Samling*, March 15, 1920.

The editors of *Allsvensk Samling* have shown from the first a surprising ignorance of American conditions and of the psychology of the Swedish-Americans.[32] They have derived their impressions from certain Swedish-American newspapers and from die-hard Swedish propagandists in America who are in no way representative of the great majority. Their news items are secondhand, culled as they are from the Swedish press in America, and their feature articles are distorted by inaccuracy and a false perspective. Moreover, little of the information that they contain about Sweden arouses the interest of the second and third generations, even if, as is not usually the case, they are able to read them. Members of the third generation have difficulty even in pronouncing the title of the paper. During the war and in the years that followed, however, severe criticism of the rapid transition from Swedish to English in the Augustana Synod destroyed what little interest in the society remained among the pastors and leading laymen. It is true that sensible pastors and laymen deplored the hysteria that brought about such ill-advised measures as the proclamation made by the governor of Iowa prohibiting the use of foreign languages in religious services, as well as other legislation and proposed legislation to root out foreign languages; but they usually remained silent and trusted with their moderate American brethren that the fire would burn out with the subsidence of the war spirit. The zeal of *Allsvensk Samling* in combating this spirit, however, has never flagged, partly, perhaps, because of the fate of Swedish in Finland, where a national renaissance followed the country's emancipation from the rule of the czar of Russia. Calm consideration, or counsel with well-informed Americans of Swedish blood in various walks of life, ought to have suggested that the waning interest in Swedish in the United States was due to a combination of circumstances, of which the World War was but a single factor.

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[31] V. Berger, in *Allsvensk Samling*, November 11, 1919.

[32] Professor Lundström never visited the United States.

The Gothenburg paper deplored the fact that the Swedish-American papers were usually silent on the events that were taking place. Commenting on the statement of certain editors that the laws and proposals were reminiscent of "Prussianism," the editor asserted that the word was inappropriate, for Prussia, with all its bureaucracy, exalted knowledge, linguistic accomplishments in particular, and during the war was liberal enough to permit the sale on the streets of English, American, French, and Italian papers. It was beyond his comprehension that Americans, who were proud of their country as the protector of racial minorities, could deny their fellow citizens the right to worship in their own language and to publish their own papers. "Charity begins at home," he said.[33] He disclaimed any intention of attempting to persuade emigrants to return home and avowed that it was desirable that they should become loyal Americans. "We do not want to form a state within a state; but we want the Swedes to be a salt in America that has a savor."

Turning his guns on the Augustana Synod in 1925, Lundström lamented that just at the time when the culture and language of Sweden were rising in the esteem of foreign countries, the Augustana Synod was going in the opposite direction. Conference after conference had adopted English as the official language, and the name "Swedish" had been dropped from the names of many congregations. Pastors took no interest in the cause. In answer to the objection that the function of the synod was to save souls rather than to preserve the Swedish language, the writer said that this contention was false from a historical standpoint as well as fatal to the future. History bore witness that the synod was founded to preserve the church of the fathers for the children of immigrants. What would be left of the church, he asked, with the language gone? Nothing. The church government never had been Swedish, the translated liturgy would be merely a relic that would soon be changed, and the confession was Germanic. The Church of Sweden had been the guardian of Swedish culture, extending its influence to the universities, schools, literature, and family life. He predicted that when the synod broke with that tradition, it would break with the church of the fathers.[34]

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[33] *Allsvensk Samling,* May 1, 1919; Lundström to A. G. Witting, in *Allsvensk Samling,* December 1, 1922.

The caustic criticism of *Allsvensk Samling* was irritating to both older and younger pastors. In the words of one of the ablest younger ministers, "The person who speaks Swedish because he is unable to use English is Swedish-minded of necessity and not out of love." He held that the Augustana Synod was broader than the limits of Swedish-America and that its members wanted the Lutheran doctrine to make an impression on all nationalities in the country. Moreover, the synod had neither the time nor the money to teach children Swedish. If parents were unequal to this task, how, he asked, could the church solve the problem? Besides, the church worked where it was welcome, and the recent immigrants had manifested no interest in it.[35]

The Swedish organ of the synod, *Augustana,* has taken issue in no uncertain words with Lundström's point of view. It has protested the injustice of placing the church on a level with secular organizations and has insisted that its mission was to gather people of Swedish blood within the fold of the Christian church; and to accomplish this, the language best suited must be employed. The editor admitted that it was difficult for a resident of Sweden to understand conditions in a country as large as the United States. "During the first decades of its existence our synod used the Swedish language almost exclusively," he wrote, "but after it became the guardian of the children and grandchildren of the immigrants, English was used increasingly. Would Professor Lundström have it otherwise?"[36]

Naturally the steady retreat of the Swedish language brought sorrow to a certain element among pastors and laymen. Even today some of them deplore that the official name of the synod does not connote the Swedish character of the organization and advocate that it should be changed. They point to the incorporation of "Norwegian" and "Danish" into the official titles of the Lutheran churches among the people of those nationalities.[37] Others lament that the sessions of synod and conference are conducted exclusively in English, that the proceedings are printed in the language of the country, and that at meetings of the Luther League not a word of Swedish is heard. They see in all this the eventual loss of the identity of the synod and the disappearance of the "daughter" of the Church of Sweden.[38]

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[34] Vilh. Lundström, "Augustana-synoden och svenskheten," *Allsvensk Samling,* April 15, 1925.

[35] Conrad Bergendoff, in *Allsvensk Samling,* April 15, 1924. See also J. E. Chester, in *Lutheran Companion,* April 19, 1924.

[36] *Augustana,* March 7, 1929, July 24, 1930. The occasion of the latter editorial was the appearance of Lundström's most recent book, *Allsvenska linier,* Gothenburg, 1930.

The effect of the attitude of *Allsvensk Samling* and its exponents in the United States has been to destroy what little support the leaders of the synod might have given. Secular organizations among the Swedish-Americans have taken advantage of the situation to discredit the Augustana Synod in America as well as in Sweden. For example, Johannes Hoving of New York, a Swedish Finn, through whose initiative and leadership a number of children have been privileged to visit Sweden since 1924 under the auspices of the Vasa Order (*Vasa Orden*), stated in an interview to a Stockholm daily in 1929 that a division was about to take place in the Augustana Synod. He attributed this dilemma to the clergy rather than to the laymen. He said that pastors were going into the English churches and that they did not measure up to the standard demanded by the Swedes. The interview was reprinted widely in the Swedish-American press, and *Augustana* took notice of it in editorials teeming with sarcasm. "Our synod could fill the largest boat of the Swedish-American line with children and youths from its congregations in order to demonstrate to the people of Sweden what it is doing to preserve their inheritance from Sweden, but to what purpose?"[39]

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[37] S. G. Hägglund, in *Svea*, quoted in *Allsvensk Samling*, September 15, 1921. See the open letter of Hägglund to Conrad Emil Lindberg, dean of Augustana Theological Seminary, inquiring as to the status of instruction in Swedish. The writer suggests that it is more important to teach the Word of God in the Swedish language than in the Greek and Hebrew. See the issue of *Augustana* for March 7, 1929. Hägglund was one of those who organized the Swedish Lutheran Society on July 22, 1930, with the purpose of keeping alive worship in the Swedish language. Twelve pastors and thirty laymen were present. In a communication to *Allsvensk Samling*, August 19, 1930, Hägglund argues that there is as much justification for an organization of Swedish Lutheran congregations as for the Association of English Churches, which was organized in 1908.

[38] Emil Lund, "Språkfrågan åter igen," *Minnesota Stats Tidning*, March 27, 1929. Lund was a prolific contributor to *Allsvensk Samling*.

Indicative of a realization of the impotence of the Society for the Preservation of Swedish Culture in Foreign Lands among Swedish-Americans was the visit of K. A. Hjorth as a representative of the organization in the summer of 1929. He visited several Swedish-American centers of population for the purpose of diagnosing the situation and finding remedies. It appears that he learned that the two greatest obstacles to success were the impression that the society was an agency working for the return of emigrants and the feeling that affiliation with it was inconsistent with loyalty to the United States.[40] The fundamental difficulty, however, lies deeper. Notwithstanding the zeal of the group directly interested in the work of the society, responsible persons in Sweden take no more interest in the preservation of the Swedish language in the United States than Swedish-Americans take in the election of a parish pastor in Sweden. They accept the assimilation of the Swedes in America as inevitable and desirable.[41] If Sweden and the United States ever establish a cultural *entente cordiale,* it will not be a hothouse product of propaganda but the fruit of a slow, gradual process. The meetings and programs of the Swedish Cultural Society show how impossible of accomplishment is its aim in a population that lacks a background of Swedish culture. Listening to Swedish declamations and eulogies and singing Swedish songs is not sufficient to produce a solid attachment to Sweden or to things Swedish.[42] The Augustana Synod never has been the best agency for the preservation and promotion of Swedish culture. This work properly belongs to universities and colleges and to foundations and societies conducted independently of ecclesiastical and political affiliations.

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[39] *Augustana,* September 7, 1929, July 24, 1930. For a hostile comment on the reply of *Augustana,* see *Svenska Pressen,* Spokane, September 18, 1929. The latter paper was edited by Nils F:son Brown. With reference to the children's tour, see *Allsvensk Samling,* April 15, July 15, 1924.

[40] K. A. Hjorth, "Vad vill Riksföreningen i Amerika?" *Allsvensk Samling,* July 15, 1930.

[41] At the annual meeting of *Riksföreningen* in Stockholm in the last week in July, 1930, sharp criticism was directed at *Allsvensk Samling.* Swedish-Americans present were optimistic over the outlook in the United States, but the "oratory" delivered on this occasion must be discounted as liberally as the sentiments expressed by Swedish-American orators on occasions when distinguished visitors from Sweden are honored. At the triennial meeting of the Swedish Cultural Society in Minneapolis in June, 1927, a mere handful was present. An account of the 1930 meeting is given in *Allsvensk Samling,* August 5, 1930.

[42] Johan Benzendal, *Amerikanska brev,* 208–224, 240 ff., contains an amusing and irreverent account of a meeting of a chapter of the Swedish Cultural Society. It

Recently the leaders in America have said less about the continuation of the language and more about exchange professorships, exchange of pastors, stipends for students, and depositories for Swedish literature.[43] The movement perhaps had some influence in promoting the organization of the Society for the Advancement of Scandinavian Study in 1911 and the agitation for adding Swedish to the high school curriculum in Minnesota.[44] Even the most enthusiastic propagandists, however, admit that high school and college students show little inclination to register for Swedish courses. At the University of Minnesota, one of the most "Scandinavian" universities in the world, the Swedish classes are among the smallest classes on the campus, if not the smallest, and in the Swedish-American colleges, too, they have been shrinking constantly. It has also been remarked that some of the most ardent Swedish propagandists have married outside their own nationality. Nevertheless, in the event that cultural interests are disentangled from politics, ecclesiastical or secular, and Swedish professorships are filled by first-rate men, the third and fourth generations may acquire curiosity about the land of their forbears, and curiosity may be translated into appreciation in generations to come. Thus with the extinction of Swedish as a spoken language, Swedish may be cultivated by the few who have the inclination and ability. When that day dawns, the transatlantic pilgrims will visit libraries, art galleries, castles, and ancient churches instead of gazing upon the old homestead and inquiring as to the whereabouts of confirmation mates.

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ridicules the poor attendance, inefficient management, and cheap program. The author is critical of the men in charge of it and shows the difficulty of carrying on the work with the available material.

[43] *Allsvensk Samling,* July 1, 1924; A. G. Witting, in *Allsvensk Samling,* August 1, 1925.

[44] A. A. Stomberg, "Svenskhetens bevarande i Amerika," *Ungdomsvännen,* February, 1911.

CHAPTER XXX

THE PROBLEM OF LANGUAGE

THE pastors in the Augustana Synod were tardy in discerning the signs of the times. So long as its membership was being increased by recruits from the great army of immigrants and the problem of gathering the reluctant into the fold remained vexatious, it was natural that little or no attention was given to preparation for conditions that appeared to lie far in the future. The solution of the language problem, in so far as it has been solved, was evolved only when conditions made it imperative; the problem was not anticipated, nor was the solution based on theory. This, however, is not surprising. Very few of the pastors were able to preach sermons in English, and those who saw the need of introducing English into church affairs were checked by the conservative majority in the synod at large and in individual congregations. The children of the immigrants learned to read Swedish in "Swede school" and attended the Swedish Sunday school, and parents saw no reason for crowding out the language that was a part of themselves and that was intertwined with the Lutheran faith. Some of them actually believed that there was no salvation except through the medium of Swedish. But this belief was not peculiar to the Swedish immigrants; the Norwegians and Germans had among them men and women who took the same attitude toward their mother tongues. Hence it came about that the church lagged far behind in the process of Americanization, which was making it impossible for thousands to worship in Lutheran churches because they were unfamiliar with the language of worship. Moreover, it was distasteful to many persons to be affiliated with a "foreign" church. Others found it far more profitable socially to attend an "American" church whose congregation was composed of bankers, lawyers, doctors, and teachers and dignified by an imposing church edifice than to go to church in a small frame building situated on a side street. This leakage facilitated assimilation, but it did immeasurable injury to immigrant churches.

It appears that the agitation for English congregations and English services in the nineteenth century was confined to a small and ineffective minority. In 1898 Gustaf A. Brandelle, editor of the *Augustana Journal,* wrote that support was meager where English had been inaugurated, and that the very people who had demanded it failed to show enthusiasm.[1] In 1900 the transition to English had barely begun, and by 1910, although some progress had been made, only a handful of congregations used the English language exclusively. These were banded together in a loose organization known as the Association of English Churches. During the first decade of the century an increasing number of congregations introduced English evening services and a few conducted two morning services, one in Swedish and the other in English. Some congregations had one English service a month, usually in the evening. During the second decade, however, it was not unusual to use the two languages in alternate morning services.

In 1894 the *Augustana Journal* succeeded the *Alumnus* and became the mouthpiece of the younger and more Americanized element, but the growth of the list of subscribers was painfully slow. In 1906 the *Journal* became a weekly, and a year later it changed its name to the *Young Lutheran's Companion.* Today it is published as the *Lutheran Companion.* Even as late as 1925 the circulation of *Augustana,* the Swedish organ, exceeded that of its English contemporary by almost eight thousand, and in 1930 the respective number of subscribers was about equal. In 1921, three years after the close of the war, eighty-five per cent of the preaching was in Swedish. In 1918, when anything "foreign" was under suspicion, the Augustana Synod in convention resolved that the immigrants and their children ought to learn the language of the country, but that Swedish, as a rich cultural heritage, ought to be preserved as long as possible.[2]

Prior to 1900 very few men of the older generation, with the exception of such men as Hasselquist, Olof Olsson, Carl A.

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[1] *Augustana Journal,* July 15, 1898.

[2] *Augustana,* July 4, 1918.

Swensson, and S. P. A. Lindahl, saw the problem of language in its proper perspective. From the beginning Hasselquist had met with the strenuous opposition of the conservatives when he insisted on having an English professorship for Augustana College and Theological Seminary. He saw in the agitation to move the seminary to Chicago at the close of the eighties an effort to kill the English professorship and to make the institution exclusively Swedish. Lindahl as editor of *Augustana* reminded his readers that love for church was greater than love for language and that steps should be taken to prepare for the inevitable transition; and in 1894 Swensson wrote that the synod ought to have organized an English conference ten years before.[3] But such men were exceptional in those years, when Swärd and Norelius were presiding over the synod and when harvests were being reaped among the new immigrants, who were arriving in large numbers. Moreover, the decentralizing tendencies in the synod were strong, and the possibility of the secession of the strongly Swedish Minnesota Conference had to be considered.

Indicative of the lukewarm—not to say hostile—attitude of the synod were the debate at the Galesburg convention in 1898 over the English professorship in the seminary and the final disposition of that position. The heavy handicap of the "English party" was further augmented by a speech of Joseph L. Murphy, pastor of the Grace English Lutheran Church in Rock Island. He argued that it was necessary to elect a man of non-Swedish ancestry, because the available men in the synod spoke "pidgin English." Even the moderates could not stomach this assertion from a man bearing the surname Murphy, and the question was dropped.

The synod was tardy also in understanding the spirit of American youth. In Sweden, where religious instruction in the public schools led up to confirmation, the Sunday school was not adopted by the state church until the present century, and even today many congregations, especially in the rural parishes, have not introduced it. The Augustana Synod, however, emulated the example of the American churches from an early period, although not a few pastors were indifferent and

[3] *Augustana,* May 8, 1890, May 17, 1894; *Fosterlandet,* June 13, 1894.

even opposed to the Sabbath school. The Sunday school papers *Olive Leaf* and *Barnens Tidning* were established in 1883 and 1886, respectively. It will be observed that, strangely enough, the English publication antedated the Swedish.[4] As late as 1900 the synod had no Sunday school literature in the language of the country. The Sunday school hymnal contained a few English songs, but they were seldom used. In 1877 a young people's society was organized in the congregation at Moline and the idea spread during the next decade, but it had more enemies than friends among the pastors. The original aim was to maintain libraries, to hold literary and devotional meetings, and to promote wholesome fellowship.[5] It was feared, however, that the societies would foster a spirit of independence of the church and that the young people would become more interested in the societies than in the regular worship.[6] There was probably good reason for this apprehension; the young people showed partiality for the English language in arranging programs, and the time might come when the pastor who preached in Swedish exclusively would find himself unpopular.

The next stage in the movement was the affiliation of the young people's societies with the Luther League, an organization that had its beginnings in the General Council in 1887. The first national convention was held at Pittsburgh in 1895. Within the Augustana Synod the Luther League was under suspicion as a proselyting agency to draw the young people into other Lutheran synods. On this subject a protracted discussion was precipitated at the synodical convention of 1894. The result was the adoption of a resolution indorsing the League as desirable, provided the individual societies worked within the congregations and not apart from them. A committee to draw up a constitution for the organization was appointed.[7]

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[4] An earlier publication, *Barn Vännen,* appeared in 1874.

[5] Adolf Hult, "Augustana-synodens ungdomsföreningar," *Minnesskrift,* 1910, pp. 391–410. A model constitution is printed in *Ungdomsvännen,* March 1, 1881. *Ungdomsvännen* contains considerable material relating to the movement.

[6] O. J. Siljeström, in *Augustana,* April 28, 1892. C. A. Swensson replied in *Fosterlandet,* May 11, 1892.

[7] C. A. Evald, "Urbanus," *Fosterlandet,* June 27, 1894. In recent years the *Lutheran Companion* has had a department devoted to the Luther League.

Down to the time of the World War, the Augustana pastor could find little to praise in the Y. M. C. A. This organization exposed the young man not only to the billiard table but to the danger of imbibing teachings in the Bible class that would wean him from the "true evangelical faith." During the war the Lutheran Brotherhood was organized to minister to men in uniform in competition with the Y. M. C. A. The younger pastors, however, do not oppose the latter organization and several of them are active in promoting its activity. During the last decade the Augustana Synod has cooperated with the board of education of the United Lutheran church in working among Lutheran students in non-Lutheran institutions.

The first step in English home mission work by the Augustana Synod was taken in cooperation with the General Council. This experiment, however, was blessed with no greater degree of success than the similar attempt of the Swedish congregations in the General Synod as constituent members of the Synod of Northern Illinois, which terminated in the secession of the Scandinavians and the establishment of the Augustana Synod. It will be recalled that the Augustana Synod became a member of the General Council in 1870. Upon the disruption of the General Synod and the organization of the General Council in 1867, William A. Passavant, who had rendered valuable service to the Swedish Lutherans, became a member of the latter body and continued to follow the progress of the Augustana Synod. As editor of the *Workman* at Pittsburgh he manifested the same interest in the cause of home missions as he had when he presided over the editorial destiny of the *Missionary*. He saw with sorrow and dismay the failure of the leaders in the West to recognize the rapid Americanization of the immigrants and their children and the constant leakage from the Lutheran population into the reformed churches because the Augustana churches had failed to provide services in the language of the country. Just as his first trip to Minnesota in 1856 heralded important developments, so did his visit in the spring of 1881, on which occasion he reconnoitered the field in the interests of English work under Lutheran auspices. As chairman of the Committee on

English Home Missions, he reported to the convention of the General Council in the fall of that year that immigrants from northern Europe were pouring into the flourishing cities of St. Paul and Minneapolis and that many of them were drifting away from the faith of their fathers. He reported the purchase of property in Minneapolis and the prospect of securing the services of a missionary.[8]

Upon the recommendation of Passavant, George H. Trabert was called by the Home Mission Committee to serve as missionary in the Northwest in the spring of 1882. This inaugurated a series of events characterized by misunderstandings and mistakes that reflected little credit on either party and terminated in bitterness that has not died out even today. The outcome belied the prophecy of a correspondent of the *Workman* who, noting the formal admission into the Augustana Synod at the Red Wing convention in 1883 of Revere F. Weidner and J. A. Bauman, professors in Augustana College and Theological Seminary, and George H. Trabert, all former members of the Pennsylvania Synod, expressed his conviction that this marked the beginning of more thorough English work and would no doubt result in very important consequences to the synod in the conservation of its rapidly increasing English elements.[9]

Upon his arrival in the Twin Cities, Trabert found the Augustana Synod pastors far from enthusiastic over the arrangements that had been made without consulting them or the conference and synod that they served. Although they expressed satisfaction at the prospect of having English congregations, they laid it down without qualification that these must be constituent parts of the Augustana Synod. They argued that the new congregations would draw in the younger generation, leaving a residue of poor immigrants in their synod to support its institutions, and that if those who were proficient in the use of English went into an independent synod, the older body would be unable to train a ministry competent to officiate in the language of the country. In other words, English congregations organized into an independent synod would dry up the sources of future membership in the Swedish congregations. It was alleged also that problems of discipline would arise.

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[8] The report is printed in George H. Trabert, *English Lutheranism in the Northwest,* Philadelphia, 1914, pp. 25–27. Trabert was the first English missionary in the Northwest, and his book is a valuable contribution to the history of the movement, in which he played a leading part. He not only draws on a fund of rich experiences but prints extracts from official reports. The present writer has found it of great value in writing this chapter.

[9] *Workman,* June 21, 1883.

This view of the matter was not in harmony with the plans of Passavant, who looked forward to cooperation among the synods in the General Council to organize English congregations that should be associated in a district synod of the general body. Passavant looked to the larger aspects of the situation and took no particular interest in any synod; he hoped to devise a plan whereby the leakage from the Lutheran church would be stopped, and thousands be saved for the Lutheran cause. He failed to take into account either the instinct of self-preservation or the peculiar position of the Augustana Synod, which, unlike the other bodies within the General Council, was not confined to a single district but was nation-wide. A new congregation organized in Ohio, for instance, would naturally belong to the district synod of the General Council within whose territory it was located and would thus be a gain; in Minnesota, however, a new congregation in a new synod would be a loss to the Augustana Synod, of which it would be a competitor.

With this storm cloud on the horizon, Trabert wisely declined the call until the General Council and the Augustana Synod came to a clear understanding. Upon his return to the East, Trabert conferred with Passavant, who hastened to the meeting of the Augustana Synod at Altona, Illinois, in June, 1882. The result of the negotiations was the adoption of resolutions at the Lancaster, Ohio, meeting of the General Council in October of that year, regulating home mission work. The vital issue was disposed of as follows: "That where a mission congregation is organized out of material from existing churches in connection with the General Council, said mission congregation, together with its pastor, shall belong to the Synod to which the mother church belongs."[10] This was perhaps the best compromise possible; but, as events proved, it did not provide for the contingency that arose when new congregations were organized out of material belonging to no congregation and the members refused to affiliate with a synod whose language was foreign to them. In that eventuality, a new congregation could choose one of three courses of action. It might remain independent of all synodical control; it might affiliate with a district of the General Synod, the rival of the General Council; or it might join with other independent congregations to form a synod and apply for admission to the General Council. The Lancaster resolution merely postponed the fatal day of reckoning.

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[10] *General Council Minutes,* 1882, p. 41.

The Lancaster compromise was satisfactory to Trabert, and he entered upon his field of labor in Minneapolis, St. Paul, and Red Wing early in 1883. Although Trabert and the men with whom he was associated from time to time encountered opposition from Swedish pastors and laymen who objected to the establishment of competing congregations, by the close of the decade nine congregations had been organized, five of them in Minneapolis and St. Paul and the others in Red Wing and Duluth, Minnesota; Fargo, North Dakota; and Milwaukee, Wisconsin. That the General Council had come to a tardy realization of the importance of the field in the West is attested by the fact that in 1888, for the first time, it held its convention west of the Mississippi River, in Minneapolis, upon the invitation of St. John's Church, of which Trabert was pastor. The opening address of the president was a clarion call to cultivate the vast field from the Great Lakes to the Pacific Coast. Stimulated by the challenge of the president and by the optimistic spirit of the milling and lumbering capital, as well as by the invitation of the delegation from the Pacific Conference of the Augustana Synod to establish English churches on the Pacific Coast, the convention sent the Home Mission Committee enthusiastic instructions that put new life into that body. In 1889 William A. Passavant, Jr., was elected superintendent of Home Missions.

Learning of the intention of the General Synod to send representatives to the Pacific Coast to preempt this great region, Passavant instructed George H. Gerberding, a missionary stationed at Fargo, to anticipate this almost exclusively English body. Gerberding set out on his mission in February, 1889, and immediately canvassed the situation with the Augustana pastors in Tacoma, Seattle, and Portland. The emissaries of the rival organizations met informally, without any premeditated plans, and drew up an agreement, also informal, by which the Pacific Northwest was recognized as General Council territory and California as the "sphere of influence" of the General Synod.[11] Although the number of English congregations and their membership was small, on the surface the situation was fairly hopeful; but the calm was the precursor of a storm that broke the following year.

The history of Grace English Lutheran Church at Rock Island is illustrative of the obstructionist tactics of the conservatives in the Augustana Synod. This congregation was organized in 1887 on the initiative of members of the Augustana Synod, independently of the Home Mission Committee of the General Council, although some financial aid was furnished. The prime movers, who were nearly all connected with Augustana College and Theological Seminary, included Charles L. Esbjorn, Claude W. Foss, Erland Carlsson, Revere F. Weidner, and Andrew W. Williamson, the last two of whom were not of Swedish extraction. After permission to organize the congregation had been obtained from the Swedish Lutheran congregations in Rock Island and Moline, services were held in the college chapel. When the application for admission into the conference and synod came before the Illinois Conference in February, 1888, a debate was precipitated that lasted an entire day. Some objected to the establishment of an exclusively English congregation, and others feared that it would become a "college congregation." It was argued that to establish an English congregation near the college in a vicinity where no Swedish congregation existed as yet would imply that the English language was given a preference at the synodical institution. A bilingual congregation was proposed as a compromise.

The outcome of the controversy was the admission of the congregation with the proviso that it should bear the same relation to the synod and college as the other congregations. Great care had to be taken not to "proselyte" children from the two local congregations, although both were situated more than a mile from the college campus. Scant financial assistance was granted from the synod and conference, and at the beginning of the year 1891 the Home Mission Committee of the General Council withdrew what little support it had given. Augustana pastors were unwilling to brave the tempest, and call after call was declined by pastors of other synods. For over a year regular services were discontinued, although the Sunday school continued to function. Even in 1894, after a pastor from another synod had been secured, the membership was only about sixty, and the church was being financed largely through the generosity of Professor Williamson, formerly a member of the Presbyterian church, who sacrificed a considerable portion of his salary.[12]

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[11] George Henry Gerberding, *Reminiscent Reflections of a Youthful Octogenarian*, Minneapolis, 1928, pp. 196–213.

The wounds inflicted in a church controversy are not healed in a day. A struggling Swedish congregation, Zion Lutheran Church, was organized in 1891 at a stone's throw from Grace Church and soon outdistanced the sister congregation in membership. After some twenty years it became bilingual, and the younger element in the rival congregations began to argue in favor of a merger. This change was consummated in 1928, but not without acrimony and the withdrawal of members from both congregations in protest. The present St. John's Lutheran Church is a monument to the cessation of a controversy of forty years' duration, in which the laurels of victory fell to the English camp. Its history spans a period when a similar contest was waged in the synod at large. The outcome of the battle fought under the eaves of Augustana College and Theological Seminary is prophetic of the day when a "Swedish preacher" in the Augustana Synod will be as much a curiosity as George H. Trabert was in Minnesota in 1883. Perhaps the trend of events warrants the prediction that within the next forty years the Augustana Synod will be no more than a memory.

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[12] C. W. Foss, "Historical Sketch of Grace Lutheran Church," *Lutheran Companion,* February 18, 25, March 3, 1928; *Hemvännen,* March 3, 1888; C. A. Swensson, in *Framåt,* May 5, 1888; *Augustana,* January 25, 1894.

The seriousness of the language problem in the Augustana Synod was abundantly revealed in the Grace Church controversy, and it was probably augmented by the peculiar situation that had developed in Minnesota. By 1888 the practical failure of the Lancaster compromise had been demonstrated, although the crisis did not come until 1890. The elder Passavant had foreseen that congregations recruited from various nationalities would be incompatible and that discord would arise from the union of an exclusively English-speaking population and a body so Swedish as the Augustana Synod. He had advocated the organization of an English synod. The adamant opposition of the Augustana Synod compelled him to abandon his cherished plans and to work out a regulation agreeable to the Minnesota Conference. Passavant, as well as such liberal-minded Augustana men as Hasselquist, Olof Olsson, and Carl Swensson, was well aware that the Minnesota Conference was in no mood to be trifled with. With threats of secession reverberating in Minnesota, decentralization was in the ascendancy. Trabert and his congregations felt comparatively at home with the Swedes, but the same could not be said of George H. Gerberding, William K. Frick, and A. J. D. Haupt, pastors respectively in Fargo, Milwaukee, and St. Paul. With the exception of Trabert's congregations in Minneapolis and Red Wing there were very few members of Swedish extraction in the congregations represented. The non-Swedish congregations were entirely within their rights under the Lancaster rule in refusing to affiliate with the Augustana Synod, and all except the two under Trabert's guidance and Memorial Lutheran in St. Paul under Haupt remained independent of synodical jurisdiction. This situation was discussed at the Jamestown meeting of the Augustana Synod in 1890, on which occasion words were spoken that brought reproof in the columns of *Augustana* from Hasselquist, who was unable to be present.[13]

The maturing of plans for a General Council seminary at Chicago was also a thorn in the flesh of the synodical delegates. The synod instructed its president to enter into correspondence with the Home Mission Committee of the General

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[13] *Augustana,* May 8, 1890.

Council. The communication of President Lindahl called attention to the fact that congregations had been organized having constitutions out of harmony with that of the Augustana Synod, that the missionaries and their congregations withheld synodical affiliation and were therefore not amenable to discipline, and that unless the situation were remedied, the synod would be compelled to appoint competing missionaries. Joseph A. Seiss, chairman of the Committee on English Home Missions, threw down the gauntlet in his reply by avowing that the committee had recommended only the authorized constitution, that it would be unwise to attempt to coerce congregations composed of different nationalities to connect with a synod representing one foreign nationality, that the Lancaster rule covered their case, and that the committee welcomed the organization of congregations under the auspices of the Augustana Synod.[14]

The situation might have been saved for the Augustana Synod if it had authorized the organization of an English conference bearing the same relation to the synod as did the territorial conferences. But the hostility to English work in synod and conference was such that even if the proposition had been accepted, it would have been at the price of heated words and reluctant cooperation, as was shown by the Grace Church episode and the debate on the floor of the Minnesota Conference in 1888. On the latter occasion remarks were made that were hardly complimentary to pastors of German descent laboring in Swedish territory. After listening to this debate even Trabert, who was loyal to the Augustana Synod, saw the futility of organizing an English conference and advised his colleagues to take time by the forelock and organize an English synod.[15]

In the spring of 1890 the Memorial congregation in St. Paul withdrew. This act was followed shortly by a petition to the Home Mission Committee, signed by all the English pastors except Trabert, asking permission to organize a district synod of the General Council. This petition was granted, and the Synod of the Northwest was organized in St. Paul in July, 1891.[16] The meager harvest of the General Council missionaries is seen from the fact that the communicant membership of the seven congregations that formed the new synod was only 357, with a Sunday school enrollment of 656. This does not include the congregations under Trabert, which did not withdraw from the Augustana Synod until 1895.

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[14] The correspondence is printed in Trabert, *English Lutheranism in the Northwest,* 114–118. The annual report of President Lindahl is printed in *Augustana,* June 26, 1890. The report stated that the English missions with one exception were within the Minnesota Conference and that one after the other of the missionaries sent out by the General Council organized congregations outside of synodical jurisdiction. It also alluded to rumors that the Memorial congregation at St. Paul was about to withdraw from the synod and that others would follow.

[15] Trabert, *English Lutheranism in the Northwest,* 119–120; Gerberding, *Reminiscent Reflections,* 214–215.

When the application of the Synod of the Northwest for admission came before the convention of the General Council in the fall of 1891, the petition was withdrawn out of deference to the Augustana Synod delegates. The temper of the Augustana Synod was reflected in resolutions adopted at the Lindsborg convention in June, 1892. In view of the alleged fact that the Home Mission Committee of the General Council, in violation of the Lancaster resolutions, had countenanced the organization of the Synod of the Northwest without asking the consent of the Augustana Synod, it was resolved that henceforth the synod should conduct its English work independently of the Home Mission Committee of the General Council. It was also voted to establish a chair of English theology in the seminary.[17] At the Fort Wayne convention of the General Council in 1893, this action of the Augustana Synod, together with the application of the Synod of the Northwest for admission, was referred to a committee, four of whom were delegates from the Augustana Synod. The committee was unanimously of the opinion that the misunderstandings had grown out of different interpretations of the Lancaster legislation and "other causes not necessary to state," and that in the organization of the Synod of the Northwest "nothing irregular or improper was intended." On the motion of an Augustana delegate, seconded by one of his colleagues, the Synod of the Northwest was admitted.[18]

Notwithstanding this friendly official termination of the imbroglio, the relations between the Augustana Synod and the General Council were never again the same. The Synod of the Northwest remained a source of trouble to the Augustana Synod pastors. Friction developed when rival churches were planted in close proximity, when dissatisfied or disciplined members left one synod in favor of the other, and when pastors changed synodical affiliation. It is a fact that the younger synod has occasionally violated good taste by receiving into membership persons in ill repute in the other organization. The Augustana Synod found it difficult to enforce its regulations with reference to secret societies, amusements, and refreshments, based on *läsare* traditions, when a church in the next block allowed the highly prized "Lutheran liberty" in such matters. On the whole, however, the fears of the Augustana Synod of competition with the Synod of the Northwest have not materalized. The younger synod has a pronounced German character, so strong in fact that only two or three pastors of Swedish blood have applied for admission to its ministerium. Its pastors are products of the seminaries in Mount Airy and Chicago and in very recent years of Northwestern Seminary in Minneapolis, and their sermons, flavored with "Pennsylvania Dutch" provincialisms, are no more palatable to the third Swedish generation than are those expounded from Augustana Synod pulpits.

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[16] *Minutes of the Synod of the Northwest,* 1891.

[17] *Augustana-synodens referat,* 1892.

[18] The report is printed in Trabert, *English Lutheranism in the Northwest,* 129–131. The most prominent Augustana members were Carl J. Petri of Minneapolis and Gustaf A. Brandelle of Denver.

The only serious effort toward healing the schism between the Minnesota Conference and the Synod of the Northwest was prompted by the decision of the General Council to employ a Sunday school field secretary in response to the request of the Synod of the Northwest.[19] At the convention of the Minnesota Conference in February, 1902, it was resolved that the conference was able to conduct its English work independently. The convention, therefore, requested the Home Mission Committee of the General Council to postpone the commissioning of a field secretary within the boundaries of the conference until its next meeting. The conference also appointed a committee to invite the Synod of the Northwest to unite with it in an English conference on the following conditions: (1) that it alter its constitution and those of its congregations to conform with that of the Augustana Synod; and (2) that it contribute its fair share to the maintenance of the conference institutions.[20] The invitation was declined at the convention of the Synod of the Northwest some weeks later, because "it was too late."

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[19] The secretary was to cooperate with the Minnesota Conference.

The events in Minnesota caused a rude awakening in the Augustana Synod, but the immediate effect was bitterness toward the General Council rather than constructive plans for the propagation of English work. Spurred on by the petition of the St. John's congregation in Minneapolis for dismission from the synod, the convention at St. Peter in 1894 appointed a committee to prepare plans for English work.[21] The committee recommended that in congregations where it was necessary and practicable, English work be conducted in connection with Swedish, but favored the organization of an English conference bearing the same relation to the synod as did the territorial conferences. It was proposed that the matter of organizing English congregations be vested in a committee composed of the president of the English conference, the president of the synod, and the president of the territorial conference within whose territory the congregation was organized. For the present the synod should appropriate money out of its mission fund, supplemented by such contributions as the conferences might make, to finance the English work. Men called to perform the work of the English mission were to have their training in Augustana Seminary.

This report excited considerable discussion, but its extremely conservative recommendations were disappointing to the aggressive English element.[22] It made the organization of English congregations largely dependent upon the good will of the pastors of existing Swedish ones, and the servant of the Lord who was enthusiastic over an exodus from his flock to form the nucleus of a new one was very exceptional. No immediate action was taken by the synod on the committee report, and the organization of an English conference was never sanctioned. At the convention in 1898 the right to organize an English congregation was vested in the local Swedish congregation and the mission board of the conference.[23] The effect of this arrangement was to prevent individuals from taking the initiative unless the consent of the local congregation was secured beforehand. In fact, English home missionary work has never been carried out as it was originally proposed. A few English congregations have been organized through the instrumentality of conference field secretaries and conference presidents; but more often Anglicization has been effected by the adoption of the English language in congregations or by the bilingual bridge. The constituency of the synod has remained the same; only the language has changed. Down to 1914 there were few congregations whose requirements could be filled by pastors able to officiate in the English language only. To be popular a pastor must be proficient in both languages. By 1930 the English pastor had come into his own, however, and very few parishes were open to his unfortunate Swedish colleague. In other words, even bilingual congregations gave the preference to English.

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[20] Proceedings of the Minnesota Conference, in *Augustana*, March 6, 1902; Johannes Telleen, in *Augustana*, June 26, 1902.

[21] Members of the committee were Erik Norelius, Johannes Telleen, Gustaf Rast, Ludvig Holmes, Carl J. Petri, Claude W. Foss, Charles L. Esbjorn, A. P. J. Colberg. The report is printed in *Augustana Journal*, December, 1894.

[22] Editorials in *Augustana Journal*, February, May, November, 1895; A. W. Williamson, "Our English Work," *Augustana Journal*, March, June, 1895; J. Telleen, "The Language Question," *Augustana Journal*, April, 1895; "Exeant Suecani," *Augustana Journal*, July, 1895; comments on "Exeant Suecani," *Augustana Journal*, August, 1895.

The great change effected in the years between 1918 and 1930 is obvious to the observer. On the floor of the synod and conferences English was used almost exclusively by 1930. The two largest conferences, Illinois and Minnesota, decided in 1921 and 1923, respectively, to make English the official language; and by 1929 both organizations had discontinued printing the minutes in Swedish. The relative progress of the language transition in the Swedish churches of the several denominations is illustrated by the situation in Omaha in 1924. Of the six Augustana Synod congregations, three were exclusively English and the other three bilingual. Of the four non-Lutheran, one was exclusively Swedish and the other three bilingual, with Swedish holding the advantage.[24]

The proposed establishment of an English conference was delayed until there was no necessity for it. A makeshift substitute came into existence in 1908, with the organization of the Association of English Churches. This was a loose federation and had no legislative power. Its sessions were devotional and concerned with problems common to congregations using English exclusively. From time to time it presented suggestions to the synod in the form of resolutions and in that way furthered the progress of their work. By virtue of the fact that the association was represented on the Synodical Council by the president and a layman, its constituency was able to bring pressure on the synod and in that way was instrumental in bringing the larger body to the decision to conduct its sessions in English and to have its proceedings printed in the language of the land. It also kept before the synod the need for an adequate English hymnal and a satisfactory liturgy. The conventions of the association, however, were poorly attended, a number of congregations eligible to membership either neglecting or refusing to elect delegates.[25] At the time of the celebration of its twenty-fifth anniversary, the largest number of English congregations were within the Illinois, Minnesota, and Iowa conferences, and the smallest number were in the New York and New England conferences.[26] The explanation of this situation is found in the fact that there are more urban congregations in the first three conferences and that the more recent immigrants have settled in New York and New England. Of late years it has been argued that the rapid transition to English in the synod at large has made the association unnecessary. Accordingly, in 1931 the synod voted to dissolve it, much to the disappointment of the delegates to the convention of the Association of English Churches in the following October, who resolved that the decision had been reached without due deliberation and petitioned the synod to reconsider the action.

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[23] *Augustana Journal,* July 1, 1898.

[24] *Omaha Posten,* quoted in *Allsvensk Samling,* May 15, 1924.

One of the serious obstacles to the increasing use of English was the lack of church literature. The earliest congregations, like Grace Church at Rock Island, used the Church Book of the General Council, but this book did not meet with favor in the synod at large. The committee appointed in 1894 called attention to the necessity of revising the Church Book of the General Council, more especially the formulas of ministerial acts, and recommended the appointment of a committee to collect and translate Swedish hymns into English. In 1895 the synod responded by instructing a committee to prepare an English hymnal especially adapted to its constituency. This book was published in 1901, but it left much to be desired, both as to literary form and as to selection of hymns. The liturgy was a translation from the Swedish, and the Swedish hymns were stilted in translation. From the beginning the Association of English Churches urged upon the synod the necessity of a new hymnal, and in 1910 appointed its own committee. In 1913, however, the synod elected a hymnal committee of its own, but progress was slow and it was not until 1925 that *The Hymnal and Order of Service Authorized by the Evangelical Lutheran Augustana Synod* came from the press of the Augustana Book Concern.[27] Some effort was made to render into English the best hymns in the inimitable *Psalmbok* of the Church of Sweden, but this was an exceedingly difficult task. The conservatives naturally felt that the heavy Swedish chorals were slighted. The liturgy, which was prepared by a separate committee, is a rather faithful translation of that of the Church of Sweden, and the synod made the bold departure of incorporating into its own version the pericopes from the standard American edition of the *Revised Version* of the Bible. At the suggestion of the Association of English Churches the Common Service, authorized by the United Lutheran church, was included to satisfy those few congregations that preferred to use it.

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[25] In some cases this was because of the remoteness of the convention city.

[26] Statistics are printed in the *Synopsis of Proceedings of the Association of English Churches.* The constitution is printed in the first number.

The new hymnal is a decided improvement over its predecessor and a highly creditable contribution to American Lutheranism. For the first time it makes the masterpieces of such great Swedish hymnists as Wallin and Franzén available to the English-speaking world. In spite of the industry, ability, and discrimination of the committees, however, the product of their labors has been severely criticized from various standpoints, although it has been highly praised also. This difference in opinion was to be expected, and it bears testimony to the

[27] At the time of publication, the hymnal committee was composed of C. W. Foss, I. O. Nothstein, E. W. Olson, E. E. Ryden, C. J. Södergren, and C. A. Wendell.

inherent difficulty of the task. A liturgy in translation cannot reproduce the flavor and setting of the original. It taxed even the resourcefulness of Martin Luther to make the Hebrew prophets speak German. The Augustana English liturgy is "foreign" to the third generation as well as to the first. The words and music of the liturgy, indigenous to the pine-clad, rocky parishes of Sweden, seem out of place on the prairies of the Mississippi Valley, as does a chanting Protestant minister in a country where Methodists and Baptists outnumber Lutherans and Episcopalians. This fact is recognized by certain Augustana pastors who have wished to dispense with the liturgy. They lament that their Sunday schools are recruited almost exclusively from the Swedish element in the population and that the children of other nationalities who are induced to enroll are soon among the permanent absentees. In other words, in spite of the adoption of English the Augustana Synod is still an immigrant church in which the community at large takes scant interest. The Swedish Catechism in translation is still the Swedish Catechism.

After seventy years, the Augustana Synod finds itself in a unique and anomalous situation. The few emigrants from Sweden admissible under the quota find themselves strangers in its churches, and its leaders are seeking for a solution of the problem of retaining and attracting a native population that is the product of intermarriage. The hallowed memories of Esbjörn, Hasselquist, Carlsson, Olsson, and Swensson mean nothing to the son of an Irish father and a Swedish mother or to persons of other nationalities. Do the sale of the synodical Seamen's Home and the recommended sale of the Immigrant Home in New York in 1930 indicate that the Augustana Synod has finally come to a realization of that fact?[28] Whatever answer the historian of the future may give to this question, he will not fail to note that contemporaneously with the decision of the synod to dissolve the Association of English Churches a handful of pastors, mainly in the East, sought to salvage the remnants of Swedish in an organization composed of congregations loyal to the Swedish language.[29]

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[28] *Synodical Council Resolutions,* June 6–10, 1930.

[29] See page 455, note 37.

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Manuscripts

There is a great mass of manuscript material bearing on the history of Swedish immigration, but most of it is not available to the researcher, being distributed in thousands of homes and churches and other places. Moreover, the collections in libraries are uncatalogued and for the most part unclassified; a careful inventory of the libraries and archives of the Swedish-American educational institutions would undoubtedly bring to light valuable documents. In the United States the most important depositories are the Augustana College Library and the Augustana Book Concern in Rock Island and the Minnesota Historical Society in St. Paul. In addition to a variety of material pertaining to the history of the Augustana Synod and Augustana College, the college library is in possession of the invaluable Norelius and Constantine M. Esbjörn collections, consisting of a large number of letters from prominent men—which are not only intersynodical but also interdenominational—committee reports, minutes and proceedings of synodical and conference conventions, and similar documents, the most important of which is "Protokolls bok för Minnesota-konferensen af skandinaviska ev. lutherska Augustana-synoden i Nord Amerika, 1858–1884." [1]

The library of the Minnesota Historical Society, which also includes the collections of the Swedish Historical Society of America, is rich in manuscript material; many photostats, a number of "America letters," and a portion of the Hans Mattson papers are included. Dr. Carl G. Lagergren of St. Paul has in his possession a set of the proceedings of the Swedish Baptist Conference from 1856 to 1878, complete except for the years 1861 and 1862.

The manuscript collections in Sweden are as important as those in the United States. The voluminous correspondence of Peter Wieselgren in the *Stadsbibliotek* of Gothenburg includes many letters written by Hasselquist, Esbjörn, Carlsson, Böckman, Sjöblom, Enander, and other prominent men during the period from 1839 to 1876. Among them is a letter from Hasselquist to Wieselgren, dated January 3, 1868, which indicates that the latter intended to donate his library to Augustana College. In the Hedlund collection in the same library is a letter from Hasselquist dated November 11, 1856. There are a few manuscripts in the library of the *Riksföreningen för Svenskhetens Bevarande i Utlandet* in Gothenburg. *Beskickningen i Washington Arkiv,* deposited in the *Riksarkivet,* Stockholm, contains the reports from the Swedish legation in Washington; the correspondence of the consular service; a number of letters from Swedish immigrants to the legation and to the consuls and vice consuls; and the manuscript of Count Lewenhaupt's published report of July 1, 1870. *Kungliga Biblioteket* in Stockholm has a few manuscript reports on Swedish-American newspapers, prepared by Ernst Skarstedt, Oliver A. Linder, Johan A. Enander, and others.[2] Fröken Anna Lindewall's *Samling* in *Landsarkivet,* Uppsala, is an important collection of material pertaining to the Eric-Jansonists. It contains (1) an account of the movement from 1843 to 1846, by J. E. Ekblom; (2) letters from Bishop Hill; and (3) official documents, clippings from American papers, and letters. The *Kyrkoböcker,* or parish records, are deposited in the several provincial archives and parish churches. These records are unusually complete and accurate. They include vital statistics and statistics on emigration and fluctuations of population, announcements of the emigration of individuals, and information with reference to the activity of congregations and of the people of the parishes.

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[1] For a description of material at Rock Island see Oscar F. Ander, *T. N. Hasselquist,* 233–236.

[2] See Bernard Lundstedt, *Svenska tidningar och tidskrifter utgifna inom Nord-Amerikas Förenta Stater.* Stockholm, 1886.

Perhaps the most interesting and important collection of manuscripts in Sweden pertaining to the free churches in Sweden and to the reformed churches in the United States is preserved in the archives of Bethel Seminary in Stockholm. It contains correspondence of Anders Wiberg, Gustaf Palmquist, Fredrik O. Nilsson, Andrew Norelius, R. E. Jeansson, J. A. Edgren, and others, the diary of Wiberg, account books, outlines of sermons, and reports of colporteurs and Baptist leaders to the American Baptist Publication Society (1856–1866) and to the American Baptist Missionary Union (1866–1898).

Through the courtesy of friends the author has had the privilege of reading occasional "America letters," and a number of photostat copies of such letters that were published in the newspapers of Sweden are in his possession.

Newspapers and Periodicals

Newspapers and periodicals used in the preparation of this volume were mainly those in the *Kungliga Biblioteket* (Royal Library) in Stockholm, and in the Augustana College Library in Rock Island, Illinois. The Royal Library has the most complete collection of Swedish-American newspapers in existence; the collection in the Augustana College Library ranks second, and the library of the Minnesota Historical Society in St. Paul probably ranks third. The papers in the Royal Library were obtained largely through the cooperation of Tuve Nilsson Hasselquist, according to the preface of Bernard Lundstedt's *Svenska tidningar och tidskrifter utgifna inom Nord-Amerikas Förenta Stater. Bibliografisk öfversigt,* published in Stockholm in 1886.

This is the best published guide to the Swedish-American newspapers published before 1885. In it are listed all Swedish papers in the United States and all English papers written by Swedes: in one list the papers are arranged chronologically, according to the date of the establishment of the paper, place of publication, format, price, editor, and publisher; and in another they are listed geographically. Aid is acknowledged from Anders R. Cervin, Johan A. Enander, Isidor Kjellberg, Andrew Lofgren, Oliver A. Linder, A. Svedberg, Ninian Waerner, and especially Ernst Skarstedt. The manuscript reports presented by these men are preserved in the library. Bernard Lundstedt, *Sveriges periodiska litteratur* (3 vols., Stockholm, 1895–1902), is an indispensable guide to the periodical literature published in Sweden from 1645 to 1902. These basic manuals may be supplemented by the following:

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